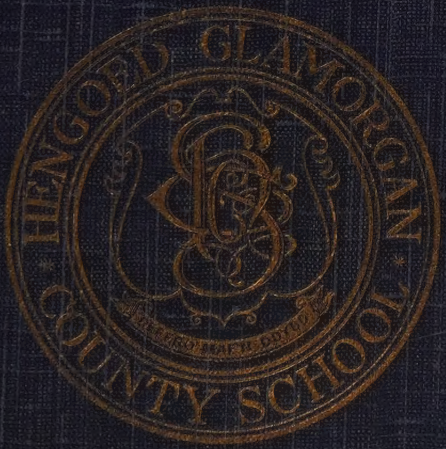
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A MEMOIR

OF

ANNE JEMIMA CLOUGH

MISS CLOUGH.

from the Portrait painted for Newnham College by J. J. Shannon, A.R.A.

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A MEMOIR

OF

ANNE JEMIMA CLOUGH

FIRST PRINCIPAL OF NEWNHAM COLLEGE
CAMBRIDGE

BY HER NIECE

BLANCHE ATHENA CLOUGH

VICE-PRINCIPAL OF NEWNHAM COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

NEW EDITION

LONDON
EDWARD ARNOLD
1903

PREFACE

THIS Memoir was undertaken chiefly in the hope of giving pleasure to Miss Clough's friends. I have also wished to do what I could to preserve a record of her character and her aims, for those who are now or may be in the future connected with the college which she helped to create, and on whose development she exercised so powerful an influence.

With these objects in view, I have written at greater length, and have entered into more detail with regard to Miss Clough's character and opinions, than would have been natural or justifiable had I been writing mainly for readers who had no special cause to be interested in my subject.

I have many friends to thank for their help. I owe much to my mother, Mrs. Arthur Clough, who has given me much valuable information and has read all that I have written; and to Professor and Mrs. Sidgwick and the Miss Kennedys, who have been most kind in helping me with that part of the Memoir which relates to my aunt's life at Cambridge and to the history of Newnham College. I have in addition to thank the following for help on various points, and in some cases for permission to use letters:—Mrs. Bacot, Miss Alice Bonham Carter,

Miss M. A. Bulley, Miss Margaret Calder, Mrs. Conybeare; Miss Claude, Mrs. Fleming, Mr. Herbert Bell, and other friends at Ambleside; Mrs. Ratcliffe of Kendal and Miss Isabella Nicholson of Preston; Miss Creak, Miss Alice Gardner, Mrs. Alfred Marshall, Mrs. A. W. Verrall, Mrs. James Ward, and many other former students of Newnham College for letters and reminiscences; and Miss Davies, Miss Mary Gurney, and Mr. Jowitt of Stevenage, for most kindly helping me with information as to certain educational matters. I am anxious also to thank Mrs. F. W. H. Myers for kindly allowing her photograph of Miss Clough to be reproduced to form the frontispiece of the Memoir.

Finally, I must give quite special thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Francis Darwin, for the help which they have given me unsparingly at every stage of my task, to which help it is due that the result is not far more inadequate than it is.

B. A. CLOUGH.

August 10, 1897.

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Miss Clough (from the Portrait painted for Newnham College by J. J. Shannon, A.R.A.) . . *Frontispiece*

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MEMOIR OF ANNE J. CLOUGH

CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS—1820-1836

ANNE JEMIMA CLOUGH was born in Liverpool on January 20, 1820. Her father, James Butler Clough, belonged to Denbighshire, in North Wales; and her mother was Anne, the daughter of John Perfect, a banker in Pontefract, Yorkshire. The Cloughs had been settled in the county of Denbighshire since the beginning of the sixteenth century, but the only member of the family who seems to have made himself known beyond his own neighbourhood was Sir Richard Clough, who was the founder of his family's fortunes. Sir Richard Clough was for many years Sir Thomas Gresham's agent in Antwerp, and his trusted helper there and elsewhere in the financial negotiations which Gresham conducted for Queen Elizabeth. After working for Gresham, he was chosen by the English merchants to be deputy or court master of the newly-founded Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers at Hamburg, and died there in 1570. He returned to Wales at intervals, and spent part of the large fortune which he had made while in Antwerp in buying lands and building houses in his native county of Denbigh.

From this time until the end of the eighteenth century

very little is known of the family. They clung with remarkable persistence to Denbigh and the neighbourhood, and they seem to have lived at ease there on the fortune Sir Richard had left them, to have increased it by some judicious marriages, and to have been well known and much respected in the surrounding country.

The father of James Butler Clough was Roger Clough, who is described as Vicar of Corwyn, Rector of Llansannen, and Canon of St. Asaph. His elder brother, Richard, was the head of the family, and Richard and Roger married two sisters, Patty and Ann Jemima Butler, the daughters and co-heiresses of James Butler of Worminghurst, in Sussex. The Sussex property was sold, and Roger bought an estate in Wales; but he very soon lost a large part of his own and his wife's fortune by the failure of a bank in which he was a partner, and had to sell his newly acquired property.

Roger had thirteen children, of whom James Butler was the third. Two younger sons went into the Church; one, Charles, became Dean of St. Asaph, and the youngest, Alfred, was a Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, and Vicar of Braunston, near Rugby. James, with an enterprise unusual in the family, left Wales and went into business as a cotton merchant in Liverpool. He married there in 1816, and had four children—Charles Butler, born 1817; Arthur Hugh, 1819; Anne Jemima, 1820; and George Augustus, 1821.

Miss Clough contributed a description of both her parents to the published Memoir of her brother Arthur,[1] and she gave a few further particulars concerning them in

[1] *The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough.* Edited by his Wife. 1869.

some reminiscences of her childhood which she wrote for her own amusement late in life. Some of their letters have besides been preserved, and from these sources it is possible to form a fairly clear idea of them both. They were both people of character and fine qualities, but remarkably unlike each other.

Mr. Clough was evidently a particularly amiable and affectionate man, very tender to his wife and children, and his daughter writes that, "though he was sometimes hot-tempered, we were all devoted to him." She speaks of him as "bright and joyous," "fond of society and amusement," and adds that "he liked life and change, and did not care much for reading." He was not well fitted for business, and did not succeed in it. "He had a high sense of honour, but was venturesome and over sanguine," and "not given to counting consequences," and "when he had set his mind upon anything he was not to be turned."

Of her mother Miss Clough writes: "She was very fond of reading, especially works on religious subjects, poetry and history, and she greatly enjoyed beautiful scenery and visiting places which had any historical associations. She loved what was grand and noble and enterprising. . . . Leonidas at Thermopylæ, Epaminondas accepting the lowliest duties and doing them as a duty to his country, the sufferings of the martyrs, and the struggles of the Protestants were among her favourite subjects. There was an enthusiasm about her that took hold of us and made us see vividly the things that she taught us. But with all this love of the terrible and grand, she was altogether a woman, clinging to and leaning on our father. . . . She was truly religious, and early taught us about God and duty, and having such a loving earthly father, it was not

difficult to look up to a heavenly one." Miss Clough speaks also of her wisdom, which sometimes led her to disapprove of her husband's rash enterprises, and of the "stern integrity which was the foundation of her character." She did not care for general society, and seems not to have been at ease in it, but was homely in her ways and her tastes; and this homeliness probably prevented her remarkable qualities from being recognised beyond a very small circle. She had a few fast friends, to whom she was much attached, and was quite ready to enjoy a little gossip with them, and she liked conversation with anyone who was interested in her favourite subjects. But she was critical and hard to please, and in her letters to her daughter—which, from their humour and simplicity, are pleasant reading—she laughs unmercifully at the weaknesses of her friends and relations. It was probably owing to this critical disposition, combined perhaps with the indolence which is said to be characteristic of her family, that she took little pains to make acquaintances, and was at all times of her life content to spend much of her time sitting at home with a book. She was affectionate to her children, and seems to have been easy-going and good-humoured with them, letting them take their own way, and helping them in it even while she laughed at their crotchets.

Mr. Clough was a good-looking man, and had the fair hair and blue eyes which are common in his family. Mrs. Clough was strikingly handsome, tall and dignified, with dark hair and eyes and a delicate complexion.

In 1822 Mr. Clough left Liverpool and went with all his family to live in Charleston, in South Carolina, where much of his business as a cotton merchant was carried on.

He made his home there for the next fourteen years, but the time was interrupted by visits to England. Mr. Clough went back to Liverpool every two or three years about his business. The three boys were, one after the other, taken over to school in England, and Mrs. Clough and Anne went back twice to spend the summer with their relations.

There was much in the life at Charleston which was likely to leave traces upon the mind and character of a child, and before she came back to England, Anne was old enough to feel keenly the influence of her surroundings. She was observant and retentive even then, and the reminiscences which she wrote fifty or sixty years later show how deeply the place and the people and the incidents of this time were impressed upon her mind.

The children seem to have had a happy time in the early years before the boys were sent away to school. There was an element of picturesqueness in their life, and a good deal to stir their imaginations. Miss Clough describes Charleston, as she knew it, in the reminiscences contributed to her brother's Memoir. It lies on a peninsula between the two rivers, Cooper and Ashley. "The first sight of it showed a long line of wharves made of palmetto logs fastened together into a sort of wall, stretching perhaps half a mile along the bay, and lined with the ships and smaller craft that frequented the port. As you approached from the water, you heard the songs of the negroes at work. Beyond the wharves was a battery or public walk supported against the sea by a substantial, very white wall formed of oyster shells beaten fine and hard. . . . It was all roughly done, as most things were in the South, but the sunshine and clear skies made it bright

and cheerful. The city was not regularly built like the Northern towns. In the lower part, indeed, the houses were mostly built close together in rows, but in the upper part, where the wealthier people lived, it was full of villas, mostly standing in gardens, all built with verandahs, and many with two, one upper and a lower one. In the garden grew many flowering trees, such as the almond, occasionally the orange, and the fringe tree, a gay shrub with a very abundant white flower, and the fig; and these hung over the garden walls into the streets. The streets, too, which were for the most part unpaved, were often planted with trees for the sake of shade. Here and there one came on a large, old-fashioned mansion that at once showed it belonged to the times before the Revolution."

Their home was a large, ugly, red brick house on the East Bay, and from their nursery windows the children could see the ships sailing in and out of the harbour. Their father's office was on a lower storey, and there they played among the heaps of cotton, and saw the captains of the merchant vessels who came in about their business. "Arthur used to do sums in the office, lying on the piled-up pieces of cotton bagging."

They spent several summers in Sullivan's Island, a few miles from Charleston. They lived at a little-inhabited part of the island, and much enjoyed their freedom. The island was like one great sandbank; and they could paddle on the fine white sand, and watch the ships and "the innumerable curlews, whose wild screams seemed to make the shore more lonely still"; and they were much entertained by the sight of all their household goods, which were brought over in a sailing-ship from Charleston and deposited on the shore. There were often violent storms,

sometimes shipwrecks, and once their house was only saved from the waves by a sudden change in the wind.

They did lessons with their mother, and read history and travels with her: "she taught us about great men and their noble deeds, and with her we read the Bible." Rollin's *Ancient History*, Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*, the Lives of Cortes and Pizarro, and Washington Irving's *Life of Columbus* were among their favourite books. They read story-books too, and acted them afterwards.

After the two elder boys had gone to school in England, George and Anne amused themselves by studying the people they saw going about, and especially the children. They watched them at church, and learned to know whole families, and took great fancies to special people, and "we improved our knowledge on Saturdays," when the men drove to market and the children went with them. They had games too, in which the people they knew, and their brothers and cousins in England, were represented by reels of cotton and bricks.

The Cloughs were too English, their daughter says, to let their children go to school in Charleston, which, she adds, was perhaps a pity; and they were perhaps too English to mix freely in the life of the place. It was a long time before Mrs. Clough found congenial friends, and she felt the want of them, and did not take kindly to life in Charleston. She did, however, in time, make some very warm friends, "who were like sisters to her." There were now and then some English people living in Charleston, and they became acquainted with some of these also; among them were the Calders and the Bulleys, from Liverpool, who were afterwards very intimate friends of Miss Clough.

Mrs. Clough taught her children to remember that they were English; and a letter written by Anne to her brother Arthur, when she was fifteen, shows a lively patriotism. She writes to him of a journey down the St. Lawrence to Quebec and Montreal: "Though I could not say 'This is my own, my native land,' still I cannot describe to you how I felt, who, after having been so long in a land which is not British, found myself in a country which was subject to the British flag, and wafted on waters where it alone bore sway."

But in spite of this feeling for England, she was evidently eager to make friends, and to enter into the life round her, and quite looked upon Charleston as her home.

The visits to England made an interesting break in their lives, and Anne found much enjoyment in them. It was very delightful to see her brothers again, Arthur especially; and it was pleasant to stay with uncles and cousins in Yorkshire or in Wales, and to have large gardens to play in and children to play with. It was entertaining, too, to drive across the country from Liverpool to Pontefract and on to York, where she and Arthur were impressed by their first sight of York Minster. The children particularly enjoyed staying in the funny old vicarage at Mold, with its shining oak floors, with their Uncle Charles, who lived alone, and was very kind, and let them do just as they liked. And the days spent with other relations by the lovely sea near Colwyn Bay were long remembered by Anne and her mother "in the hot July days at Charleston."

The voyages were very long and tedious, for no steamers came nearer to Charleston than New York, and they crossed always in sailing-ships. On their return,

after their second visit to England, they had a particularly long and stormy voyage, which lasted fifty-four days. "Once or twice, I remember," Miss Clough writes, "my father took me up the companion-way to peep at the great waves which were tossing us up to the heavens and then letting us down into the deep. He was brave and strong through it all, and comforted us, and fed us as best he could, for very little cooking could be done." During the long days which they spent shut up in the cabin, the old nurse who was with them whiled away the time "with a variety of horrible stories, some about some of our relations and people that we knew," stories of excitement brought about by religion or other causes, "that showed they had a great want of self-control and sense." These things "made a great impression on me, and sowed the first seeds of my great desire to learn to rule myself and manage my mind, and get something to occupy me."

This old nurse, though devoted, seems to have been one of the chief trials of Anne's childhood, and to have given her the first lesson in forbearance and patience with the failings of others. She writes that, when she was thirteen, "the old nurse was still a great trouble; but from my earliest days I had studied how to manage her, and though it continued a great worry, I could bear it better. I had learned to be sorry for her, and to understand that she must feel the change of our growing up."

After this last visit to England, in 1831, Anne was alone with her parents, till her eldest brother, Charles, came back, two years later, to join his father in the business. She was lonely without her brothers; and it was, for various reasons, rather a gloomy time. Much anxiety about business seems to have hung over the family

during nearly the whole of their stay in Charleston; and at this time Mr. Clough was away in England for many months, and in his absence Mrs. Clough was particularly low and depressed. "She could not bear my father to leave her, and she hardly ever went out, except to church." Their chief friends were away in the summer, and they spent the long, hot days sitting in the nursery of the old East Bay house, looking out over the bay, and consoling themselves with the Waverley novels.

Miss Clough writes: "I had far too much time for thinking." "As time went on, I became more and more aware of the evils of slavery—the immorality of the men, and the sufferings of the slaves. It was fearfully painful; and there was a growing religious state of mind which made everything more impressive." As a rule, the slaves in Charleston were kindly treated, but it was known that there was often much cruelty on the plantations. The Cloughs never owned any negroes, but their servants were slaves whom they hired. "One of our women-servants harboured a runaway slave. She was taken up and put into prison, and my father with great difficulty saved her from being flogged. She had, however, to spend a fortnight on the treadmill instead."

"At this time,"—that is, about 1832, when she was twelve years old,—Miss Clough writes, "religion took a deep hold on my mind." She had spent many weeks when in England with some of her mother's relations who held strong evangelical views. "There I heard much religious discussion, and had much very Low Church doctrine preached to me, and I felt moved and troubled."

There were camp-meetings in the woods and revivals going on among the negroes, and soon among the whites

also, and there was a new and more sensational preacher at the old church, and all this tended to deepen the impression made upon her. About this time, however, both Anne and her mother found some new friends, "and very nice ones too," she remarks, and one friendship in particular, with Maria Lance, "gave much brightness to my life. We talked to each other, and we read books together, and told our day-dreams and enjoyed our lives." "I got more among young people, but I was queer and shy, and did not get on well, and was soon put out."

One of her chief pleasures still was to observe the Charleston people and their ways of life. She spent many hours looking at the children in the garden of a neighbouring house. Here in the summer lived a Mr. Alston, a planter, and the head of an old family, with his sons and daughters and their children. "As soon as it was cool enough in the afternoon, the garden was alive with children and their mothers. I could see them playing—how I watched them — bonnie, sweet-looking girls and boys; I can still see them, with their fair bright-eyed mother and the tall, dark father. Many of these boys fell in the war. I used to watch their names in the paper."

The old church of St. Michael's was a great centre of interest to her. "It had been built before the Revolution, and the spire was lofty, and it was like some of the old churches in London. There was a large porch running the whole width of the church. Here the men gathered together about church-time and talked together; the women and children went in, and the men followed at intervals during the service. There was a gallery round three sides of the church, and the negroes sat in the aisles. Young children came with their mothers and sat

on stools at the corners of the pews, with books to amuse them, and the mothers and grandmothers often laid the little ones down to sleep. It was a pretty sight, the devout mothers with their little ones, the rather rugged and sallow fine-looking men, and the handsome young boys and girls. . . . There was a true sort of fellowship in our worship. Did we not enter into one another's sorrows and joys? We were known to each other, and understood what was passing through each other's minds.

"The good old Bishop Bowen was the clergyman; he was a learned man, but slow. He was very friendly with my father; they got on very well together, for was not my father the son of an English clergyman? By and by a more vehement preacher came, and there was demand for great excitement. The bishop did not like this change, but the people did."

She goes on to describe some of the Charleston ways.

"One of the terrible customs of Charleston, I may say of the Southern States, was duelling. Many young men fought, and some were killed. Once three young boys fell in love with a young girl; she lived away from Charleston, and they settled they would all go and offer themselves to her, and the one who was favoured should fight the others. Happily, their friends discovered the scheme, and the boys, all under sixteen, were brought back, and the young lady was not disturbed.

"Another and a more agreeable practice in Charleston, was that the young men went about at night serenading their favourite lady friends. A guitar and the voice were the usual instruments, but I have known a piano carried to the house of a great favourite. The love-making was strong and vehement, but after marriage, though there was often

great affection and tenderness, yet politics, business, and other cares absorbed the men and drew them from home, and the women became engrossed by family cares, their children and their households. But in the evening the friends of the family and young men without homes always found a welcome from these kind, motherly women. The great piazzas in the summer made airy drawing-rooms in the moonlight or starlight, and in the winter there was the fireside, but it was never very cold."

Her eldest brother's return was a great pleasure to her, and she says, "We were much to each other." The last few years of their stay at Charleston were enlivened also by expeditions to various places with Charles and her parents. They went to see some plantations on the Cooper River, and to Augusta in Georgia, and Columbia, and in 1835 they made a journey to the North. They passed through Richmond in Virginia, where she remarked that the negroes looked fierce and not so pleasant as those in Charleston, and went on to Washington, Philadelphia, and New York, and then to Montreal and down the St. Lawrence to Quebec. After being so long shut up in hot and dusty Charleston, she was enthusiastic at the sight of rivers and lakes, and mountains and forests, and she retained all her life a vivid recollection of the scenes she passed through at this time. In the course of this journey they spent two or three weeks at New York and Saratoga Springs, and here Anne and her brother had an unusually gay and stirring time and made many new friends, and tasted for the first time the excitement of society. She writes that after this journey, "It seemed as if a great change had come over me, through the excitement of so much travelling and change and getting acquainted

with so many new people; in fact, being grown up. Girls of fifteen married in Charleston, and I was nearly fifteen."

All their last year in Charleston there was great excitement about slavery. While they were away in the North, the post office had been broken into by some of the chief planters and a number of anti-slavery pamphlets had been taken out and burnt. "Severe laws against the negroes had been made. They might no longer be taught to read and write, and if any of them were set at liberty, they had to leave the Southern States and go North or to Africa. The young boys made little regiments among themselves and marched about the streets proclaiming State rights. The question of slavery might not be discussed. Then the Northerners laid heavy taxes on goods from England and Europe, so there was very fierce political discussion and less of the old friendly feeling."

In the summer of 1836 the Cloughs gave up their home in Charleston and went back to live in England, and though Mr. Clough and two of his sons went back to America several times, neither Mrs. Clough nor her daughter were ever there again.

CHAPTER II

LIFE AT LIVERPOOL—1836-1844

The Cloughs, on their return to England, settled again in Liverpool, and this place was, for the next sixteen years, Anne's home.

A private Journal, which she wrote between 1840 and 1849, has been preserved, and since it describes very fully her thoughts and feelings and occupations during these years, and throws much light on the development of her character, I propose first to give a general account of the circumstances and events of her life between 1836 and 1844, and then to fill in these outlines with extracts from the journal, given in the order in which they occur.

No letters written by her during this period are forthcoming, but she herself preserved a number of letters from her father and mother, her brothers, and her Charleston friend, Maria Lance, and from these a good deal of additional information can be gathered.

Anne saw much of her brothers at this time. Charles made occasional journeys to Charleston, but was at home for long intervals. George, at first, lived at home, and went to a day-school, and then he too was taken into the business, and spent part of his time in America. Arthur was at Rugby until 1837, and then at Oxford, first as an undergraduate of Balliol, and then, from 1842 till 1848, as Fellow and Tutor of Oriel.

Now that she was within reach of him again, and able to see him not unfrequently, her brother Arthur took an important place in Anne's life. She was fond of all her brothers, and had interests in common with each of them, but for Arthur she had had, since her earliest years, a special affection and admiration. When she came to England for a few months from Charleston, it was Arthur above all that she wanted to see, and on both these visits they were much together, and their walks and talks at these times were long remembered by both of them. They wrote to one another while he was at school, and he discussed large questions with her, such as the advantages and disadvantages of an Established Church, and planned that they should spend their future lives together in some quiet vicarage.

Now he became her helper in many things, and her most trusted adviser. She looked up to him as better and wiser than herself, and was so anxious for his approval that she was often shy and self-conscious in his company, and was at times disturbed by the fear of not satisfying his critical taste. It was probably under the influence of his ideas that she began to teach and visit among the poor, and he certainly took an interest in all her undertakings of this kind, and occasionally helped her to carry them out. He helped and advised her, too, as to her studies, and kept her constantly provided with books.

But though he was her chief adviser, and she looked to him as a source of light, and treasured up his words, she did not unfold all her difficulties even to him,—they were both probably too reserved for that,—and it is clear that from the first she took her own path, and worked

out her problems for herself, and was independent even of him.

In some recollections of her brother, written about 1865, some years after his death, Miss Clough described him as he was in 1836, when they met again after an interval of five years. He was then in his last year at Rugby, and had just won a scholarship at Balliol. "This was his enthusiastic period, when, with the fervour of youth, he would pour out his soul. Dr. Arnold was his hero, and it was striking to hear him expound his views. His father and mother were not quite pleased, the family being, by inheritance, Tory. They thought often perhaps he ought to have gone to Shrewsbury, but they were patient, and far too proud of him to find much fault, and consoled themselves with the thought that he was young. The young brother and sister listened admiringly; the boy had set up for a Tory, and would argue in his funny way, but still Arthur's hot eloquence burned into their hearts and left its mark there."

Soon after she came to live in Liverpool, Anne began to visit and teach the girls at the Welsh National School, which her father had helped to found. This led to other work of the same kind, and to much intercourse with the school children and their parents, and soon became one of the chief interests of her life. Besides teaching in the Welsh school two or three times a week, she taught at a Sunday school, and had a class of older girls at home, to whom, as she said to a friend, she wished "to give a knowledge of the world they lived in." She also visited the parents of many of her scholars and made many friends among them, though this visiting, she says, was always an effort. It is clear from the allusions to this

work in her journal that she already showed the readiness to take a keen interest in individuals, and the power of maintaining that interest, which were afterwards among her most noticeable characteristics. But the most remarkable fact about her work among the poor was that her plans were entirely of her own devising, and were carried out with almost no help, and with very little encouragement. She seems to have worked on without any guidance from others, and to have invented and put into practice one little scheme after another solely by means of her own ingenuity and zeal and perseverance.

While she was teaching and visiting the school children and their parents, she was also hard at work at home, learning a variety of subjects, and getting through a good deal of miscellaneous reading. Her comments on books show that now, as at all times, she took a curiously vivid personal interest in all she read. She treated books as part of life, and tried to extract from them, as well as from her own experience, a knowledge of men and things which might help her in guiding her own conduct.

She was not without amusements at this time, and took readily such chances as came in her way. She went several times a year to stay with various families of relations in Wales, and keenly enjoyed her walks and drives there. At this time, as at all times in her life, she took great pleasure in fine scenery, and liked particularly to master the geography of a country, and to notice and fix in her mind all the details of special scenes.

These visits were a pleasant change and refreshment to her, and gave her experience of a different kind of life.

She usually stayed either with three maiden aunts, with whom lived her cousin Margaret, who was about her own age, and a great friend, or with another aunt, who had married her cousin, Richard Clough, the head of the family, and lived at a charming place called Min-y-don, near Colwyn Bay. These aunts were well-mannered and accomplished ladies, of considerable character and cleverness, who had spent most of their lives among the clerical and county society of their neighbourhood, and who no doubt thought somewhat highly of themselves and their family. A leading figure in their circle was their widower brother, Charles, the Dean of St. Asaph, an able and thoughtful man, to whom the whole family were much attached. There were also a number of young cousins and connections in the neighbourhood, whose company Anne found pleasant and enlivening.

While living at Charleston, Anne had heard a great deal about lovers and marriage, and she seems to have been much interested in such matters, and to have pondered over them much. At one time she discussed them in letters to her friend, Maria Lance (who married Mr. Bacot soon after the Cloughs left Charleston), and in 1838 this friend writes to her: "I think you are the most romantic damsel I ever knew. Here is nearly a whole page of your last letter occupied with the beautiful theory of shutting your affections in an impregnable castle, which, I suppose, is never to be stormed, but to open its gates and surrender at discretion when the right cavalier appears. . . . You have really made me quite curious about yourself, you seem to know so much about the affairs of the heart."

From other letters of Mrs. Bacot's, it appears that

among the "day-dreams" which they used to talk over, was an ambition of Anne's to distinguish herself by writing, and that she continued to think of it for some years afterwards. It was superseded by other aims and aspirations before long; but as late as 1863 she used occasionally to try writing verses.

There is no picture of her at this time. Her eyes must always have been beautiful, and she seems to have been thought nice-looking, but hardly pretty, and she was awkward, and unskilful in her dress. She constantly speaks of herself as rough; and Mrs. Bacot writes to her in 1836: "I will proceed to answer your question as to my opinion of your gentleness. I must say that I am nearly of Arthur's way of thinking, for you are certainly more gentle in spirit than in manner." She also accuses herself of being overbearing: and, no doubt, she was full of her own ideas, and eager to have her own way; but, on the other hand, her father writes of her as "ever thoughtful and kind."

In 1841 a series of misfortunes began for the Cloughs with Mr. Clough's failure in business. For some time the family were in great difficulties, and had to apply to their relations for help. Arthur came home for the summer vacation, and, by Dr. Arnold's help, got a number of pupils,—in spite of his second-class in the schools, which had grievously disappointed his friends,—and he helped them generously. They moved into a smaller house, and Anne and her mother did much of the household work; but Anne also set her mind on earning money to pay off what had been lent by their friends, and pressed for leave to keep a small school. None of her family liked this, apparently even Arthur doubted her ability to do it; but

she got her way in the end, and in time found three or four pupils, and with them started a small class, which she kept on for about four years.

Mr. Clough and George went back to Charleston, and their affairs began to mend; but in 1843, after Mr. Clough had been in England again for a few months, and while he was on his way out again, George died of yellow fever in Charleston. This was a great grief to them all, and fell especially heavily on Mr. Clough, for George had been for the last year or two his companion in America, and his partner and chief help in the business. He seems, indeed, to have been the only one of the family who had any talent for business, and his death, therefore, probably removed the only chance they had of restoring their fortunes.

The next summer, Mr. Clough came back from America much out of health, and after a few months of illness, during which Arthur and Anne helped to nurse him, he died in October 1844.

Many years afterwards, his daughter wrote, with reference to her brother's poem, "Jacob": "I could believe it to be written as a sort of remembrance of his father: of the struggles and trials of a mercantile life, the hard battle that a real gentleman and a Christian man, with an affectionate, honourable, and too yielding character, had had with life. Too sanguine, too venturesome and adventurous, with a bit of romance which gave a sort of charm to some of his mercantile adventures, he was not successful, and made mistakes that brought much trouble, especially in his later years. And so, half-wearied and worn out with the struggle and the sorrow about his son's death, he faded away, . . . and so his sun set."

The Journal proper begins only in 1840, but it is preceded by some notes recording some of Anne's dealings with the school-children before this time.

"Began to attend the Welsh school in February 1837. . . . Began to visit the parents a little the next summer, because I heard the Miss P.'s say they did. Dislike it very much. . . . At Christmas go round among my scholars with Arthur, and give them [presents].

"1838.—Get more interested in the school, and not so afraid of visiting the parents. . . . Arthur goes with me to visit the parents in the summer holidays. In the children's holidays had my first tea-party of scholars; managed it very well.

"1839.—Now get completely into the school. Begin to lend books, and visit generally. Get acquainted with almost all the children. Told Arthur in a letter from Yorkshire I knew and visited a great many parents; found I was rather mistaken, so when I came back I made more acquaintances. Lending books makes me a favourite, and gets me acquainted with the children. Don't manage my Sunday class so well; get very much bothered about it. Have geography class on Saturday. Get very much interested in the infant school—a grand examination at Christmas, giving rewards. The children know me, and speak my name. This was delicious to me, and more worth than a thousand praises. This was one of my grandest days; it was almost too much for me.

"1840, *May.*—One-third of the year is gone. I must try to spend the next better. I have got a great deal of indolence to conquer, vacancy of mind, bad thoughts of various kinds, thinking too much of myself and all I do, and of the faults and failings of others. . . . To be

attentive to mother, and get over my great cowardice, fear of people's opinion. I must not mind being thought ill of. I am still very much given to stopping after I have gone on a little while in the right way, so I am continually losing all I gain. That is a bad habit; I must get over it. In short, I must use exertion in everything, and always remember that my chief pleasures must not be here. This is not our rest. I must not seek only my own enjoyment and amusement as the main thing; I must rather seek to prepare myself for the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven which Christ has purchased for us. O Lord God, hear the prayer of Thy servant, who desires with all her heart to do Thy holy will! . . .

"This month I want to do over one book of Euclid, as far as the 80th page in the Greek grammar, translate book ii. of Virgil from the German, read 2nd and 3rd volumes of Milman's *History of the Jews*, Milton over again, and the second volume of Wordsworth. Working hard at these things may perhaps be of no particular use to me so far as knowing these things goes, but I may at least hope to acquire industrious habits and strength of mind, which I lack terribly. I am very much wanting in the power of expressing myself clearly about anything. I might improve myself, perhaps, in this particular by telling the children stories and writing definitions of words.

"Up ¼ to 6, Euclid and Greek; German, off to school 9¼; visits at the schools; want of exertion and too cross.

"Up at 6—not early enough. Euclid and German; not time for Arnold's Sermons. Very lazy; want of sharpness. Out, two calls. At J. Corrie's, talk about Puseyites, pictures in churches, etc.; very much provoked.

Have given way to a good deal of conceit and swaggering feelings and ways.

"Upon the whole, last was a moderate week; did my work pretty regularly, though I did not get through all I wanted. The worst thing that has grown in me is a sort of wild, boastful feeling, which would lead me to give way to a great deal of wildness if I had the opportunity and did not try to keep myself in. Yes, I am sure it would lead to a great deal of wickedness. I am getting proud and self-satisfied too. I must work hard to get myself steady again. I must not let my thoughts have too much liberty to run on their own course. I still want quickness in all I do, and constant mental exertion. I let my mind lie vacant for too long, and then it takes some time to get awake again. . . .

"Last was a moderate week. I have not been very early; generally about six, but two or three times after. Rather lazy about my prayers; let my mind get too full of German and other things. Speak rudely often, not so kind and gentle as I should be. . . . My faith has been weak; I have not kept in mind the end and aim of my course.

"Very much disturbed at night; strange fears come upon me; try to quiet myself by saying over psalms and so forth. Get to sleep at last, but I shall be more thankful for good nights in future.

"All last week in a great fuss. Did little in the reading way; busy about mourning. Have been wanting in quietness and gentleness; but I tried not to complain about the work, and so did not mind it so much. Had a great many thoughts in church about a book to be called 'The Happy Court,' if it could be managed, and I was

able to do it; but perhaps it is foolish to think about these things. However, I will do the best I can to improve myself in everything. I will not neglect the grace that is in me.

"We were reading Mrs. Fletcher's Life yesterday. A strange character, yet she was a good woman too, I dare-say, and meant to do right; so I think I was wrong to laugh at her. I ought to be very thankful I was saved from becoming fanatical and foolish, for I might have been like her if I had stayed in America and not come to England and been taught better by Arthur. . . .

"I have been thinking somewhat on death. . . . It seems now a much more awful thing to die than I used to think. I don't think I am wrong in disliking death more than I did, for I certainly at present would rather live. It is a punishment for sin, and no punishment can be pleasant. If I might choose, I would ask God to give me a long life, so as I might spend it well. I am determined to do my best. I will not lose my crown. I think very often as I walk about the town that in a hundred years all the people I see will be dead. We must work for the night cometh.

"I have found it the best plan lately, when we have been so busy, not to allow myself to think things a trouble to me; I have got on so much better. I think I must keep an exact account of how my time goes; it certainly often keeps me from wasting it. I learned this plan from reading Wilberforce's life; it has been of great service to me. . . .

"*June.* — I sometimes think about marriage. I don't know how I should like it. I believe, in truth, I don't care about it, but I do think of it sometimes, and

there is a vast deal of nonsense in my heart, too. I like to be admired and well thought of. There are often a great many wrong thoughts in my mind when I am out walking. Talk with C. about Aunt H. I don't know if it is right to talk about her faults, but it is scarcely possible to help it. Last week was certainly spent very badly. . . . Well, we are going away on Tuesday. I must watch myself very close, for fear I get even more wrong.

"*Min-y-don.*—Go out on the shore, a delightful walk. Feel very happy, many pleasant thoughts. Go up the Smugglers' Valley, down which a pretty stream runs with trees on each side. Two little bridges, cottages, children, other people. Stay a little while to rest in this valley, gather some flowers. I could have stayed there a long time, but it was late. . . . I don't know whether I am any better. I have enjoyed walking about very much. I have not been attentive enough to my prayers and reading the Bible and reflections. There has been a great deal of idleness, some conceit and affectation. Yesterday I finished reading the play *The Refusal* by Colley Cibber. I have been much amused with it. We came over from Plas Onn and dined at Rhual Issa, where we met Dora Howard. Some talk about Dr. Arnold; I defended him as well as I could, but I cannot talk much now. I have no words to explain myself or prove anything. We have certainly heard plenty of High Church principles and abuse of dissenters and Low Church people.

"*Liverpool.*—I am beginning to find myself much less clever than I once considered myself. I find I know very little, and what I do know I don't make enough use of. . . . I have got a great many invitations for this summer.

I shall be more away than I like, but, at anyrate, I shall see something new.

"I must be very industrious this week; I should like to get up at 5, prayers and reading till 6, then Euclid and Greek till 7½. From 9 till 11 at German, then reading Bible, French, the *History of the Jews*, with mother till going-out time. In the evening Hallam and poetry. . . . I certainly want greater diligence and steadiness in everything. I am fickle and changeable as the wind, but I wish to do right, so I hope in time I shall manage it.

"*July.*—I have been too fond of counting up all I do and settling it. It is in many respects a bad plan. Do a thing and have done with it.

"Very much bothered about some of the children, especially Jane Doyle; I do not see what is to become of her.

"Get very much vexed about Arthur's not coming home; it seems unkind of him to stay so long away. . . . Arthur came home in the evening. Saturday morning, getting ready and doing German with him. My displeasure evaporates.

"*Rhual Issa.*—Enjoy our walks very much, and had some nice talks with Margaret about various things: about women learning Latin and Greek, Euclid, etc.; the use of learning to women; also about doing good in the country, factories, etc. She does not approve of Latin and Greek; in other things we are pretty well agreed.

"*Liverpool.*—I have been very happy, but I am very glad to get home again. . . . There are such lots of nice books of Arthur's about which I should like to read. Rather bothered about the disorder in the school this

week. There ought to be regular punishments. But I dare not speak about these things. I have not courage yet. . . . Reading Arthur's poem on Brutus, disappointed rather in it; it is too rough. . . . I must not let myself get too much engrossed in these pursuits. I fear I am often wanting in small attentions to mother, and do not like having the children to teach. I must not get lazy in this; I must beware, or remorse will be troubling me.

"*Sunday.*—I feel very happy to-day; it seems quite a refreshing rest to leave my hard books alone. . . . I have not worked with such spirit as I did last week. I am getting tired. I sometimes think there is no use bothering myself so about learning things. I certainly don't know why I do try to learn so many things, and spend time thus, but I feel a great impulse to do it, therefore I think I must.

"*August.*—I have been disappointed of getting some walks with Arthur. It seems I am never to have a long talk with him again. . . . He has been very good to me this week in helping me to write my notes. . . . Had a walk with Arthur; he seems very much out of spirits, and fearful about his examination turning out well. He says he has not been well since Easter, but all the time he has been at home he has seldom if ever complained. He has been most especially kind and considerate to everyone, and cheerful too, though sometimes a look of deep distress has passed over him. How patiently he has taught me my German, and how attentive he was to mother when she was ill! In truth, he has been a bright example to us all. A good deal of thinking about the afternoon school. I should like there to be a good deal of singing and prayers that the children can join in and understand. I

should like of all things to go to read prayers. . . . I have been full of discontent and unhappiness. One bad thing I have done, I have been reading Byron's *Corsair*. His poems often hurt me. . . . I am bothered a good deal about learning; I don't know whether there is any good seeking after it. I am discouraged about these things. I feel a great want of companions of my own age. . . .

"I am beginning to grow tired of study. I think I might as well take my pleasure and be lazy if I like. I do nobody any harm, and if I were to be industrious, should I do anyone any good? In short, I am lazy about everything, visiting the children's parents and my scholars, and having the children at the house. Now it is no use going on in this way any longer. I must make a bold and firm stand against the encroachments of evil.

"*September, Beaumaris.*—I have not felt so well in mind, so much more tender-hearted and softened for ages as on Sunday. For a long time I have felt like ice at my prayers and everything else, but now my heart has been thawed. I could really believe and feel yesterday that God was my Father.

"Got ready for the ball, all the girls very kind, . . . very desirous of doing right. Plenty of dancing and fun; enjoy dancing more than ever I did. Beautiful drive back. . . . Indeed, I believe I managed pretty well at the ball, my thoughts were steady, and I did not talk much nonsense. . . . A good deal of talk about Newmanites, Arnold, etc. Dora asks me what I am, a Whig or a Tory? I say I am nothing; I have no opinions. Is not this a lie? The truth was, I believe, I had not courage to speak out boldly what I thought. In short, I am a great liar.

"*Liverpool.*—I feel a great deal better for my Beaumaris visit. It seems as if the fountain of my affections flows more freely. I can see more goodness in others. There is a feeling of less solitude in me. I am happier for knowing there is so much good in others. But I have missed my young companions a good deal.

"On Friday afternoon went a-walking with Arthur on the shore as far as Seaforth. Feel very reserved, and cannot talk till towards the end. We talked about women forming opinions, that it is not altogether necessary for everyone to know the reason why he acts thus and thus. It is possible to have the opinion without knowing it or being able to exactly express it.

"Arthur leaves us in the morning, and the thought of how lonely I shall be when they are all gone comes forcibly upon me. I was indeed quite unhappy and melancholy.

"*October.*—The school and the children fill my heart and time as much as ever, but I have not begun to visit them regularly.

"A good deal of proud thought, thinking too highly and too much of myself, my appearance, etc., then while at German my thoughts were distracted a good deal . . . full of love and such things. There would surely be great enjoyment in being in love. These things will rise up. Nonsense!

"Many distracting thoughts about the Howards, M.'s wedding, marrying in general. My heart felt quite soft. That it would be pleasant to be in love and marrying, and all that sort of thing, came into my head and unsteadied me.

"Charles goes away to America. It often comes into my head that I shall like the quietness of being alone

without any of the boys, and yet I am half inclined to be angry with myself for thinking so.

"I am certainly getting thoroughly English. I should not now like our quiet evenings to be disturbed by visitors, indeed, I often fear I am getting selfish. . . . I have felt very happy too, sometimes quite an overflow of spirits, particularly when I was walking out by myself to-day. I hope love is growing in my heart, but I do not think enough of my brothers. I did indeed feel to-day a bounding happiness, as if I could run and cry out almost from joy. But I ought to work very much harder, and if I dare say so, I will.

"Have had a great many idle, foolish thoughts about marriage. I cannot always keep myself steady about that. Foolish show-off thoughts will come up and bother me. . . . My mind wants a good steady hard working, it is getting flimsy. That would drive out all this nonsense.

"*November.*—George leaves us [for America]. Feel rather lost, everything seems so quiet.

"Just come home from walking in Bold Street. Have been giving way to all sorts of nonsense, proud and swaggering thoughts, thinking everybody was remarking me. How grand it would be if I could have a season at the Wellington Room balls! I would carry myself very high . . . in short, cut a regular flash. . . . But I know better too. This won't do; all these wild fancies must be quelled, and so they shall, or I am ruined.

"What has all this wildness come from? I know at least partly. I have been busy at the school and the children. I have been thinking a good deal about what I have done and am going to do, and that this one thinks well of me and the other. In short, I have grown fear-

fully proud, and my thirst for praise has revived again in full force. Then I have been thinking a good deal about marrying, not so much myself as others. . . .

"I want deep, steady study, particularly in Euclid; I always find when I study Euclid my mind is much stronger and better, and I am not troubled with so many idle thoughts and wandering fancies.

"On Thursday the Buchanans came to ask me to go with them to the Wellington ball, and I went. . . . Enjoyed myself very much, and did not feel half so shy as usual. . . . I am beginning to think it is well for me that we are not rich. I might then get too fond of gaiety, etc. If I were an heiress like Margaret and in the way of so many balls and amusements, I should have great difficulty to keep right. But one now and then does me good. It is like walking on a dangerous path after one that is perfectly safe. We do not think about God's protection while we are on the safe one, we run along carelessly, but when we come to the dangerous one, we stop, we walk softly, we look up to heaven. . . . So it is with me. When I am going to my schools and visiting my children, I am on the easy, safe path, at least I think so. I do not so often think of God, or fancy I need His protection, my heart often gets cold and careless. Now comes the change. I am asked to a ball, I determine to go. I know now I am going on dangerous ground, I feel afraid I may get wrong, and this makes me seek the guardianship of God. . . . All this does not prevent me from enjoying myself.

"I come home feeling better, and more lively and cheerful, and if I only take pains to keep my thoughts steady, all goes right. I am refreshed and better able to work. I have been rather neglecting this last part this time.

"Left Liverpool for Mold. A pleasant sail, a beautiful starlight night, enjoyed it very much.

"*Sunday.*—Heard a beautiful sermon from Uncle Charles on Mal. iii., but do not remember it distinctly. It seemed to make a general impression on my mind, like taking anything strengthening and refreshing to the body, we feel better for it, and yet we know not why or how. . . . I have felt very happy, and enjoyed our walks very much, and have felt very desirous of pleasing uncle and aunts in return for their kindness.

"Some pleasant talks with aunts and M. I don't know whether to call it exactly nonsense. It was about flirting, love-making, etc. I am always afraid of this talk, and yet I love it very much when I venture upon it.

"Have had a great many lofty thoughts and aspirations in Mold church during my meditations in Welsh sermon time.

"*January* 1841.—Home. It seems they want me to go out more, but I don't want to do so. I had rather be quiet.

"Well, I am determined to try and work hard. I don't know exactly whether I will have a plan of operations; I feel more inclined to act according to my impulses, which I have done considerably lately; it is much pleasanter, and one does not feel as if one was at task-work. I will not certainly have any plan about the school visiting, visiting the parents, and such matters. It is much the best not to know what one does, because one is so apt to count up all these things and get proud of them.

"It is best for me to work quietly alone. . . . I must endeavour to be more and more retired and secret. I must not even let myself know what I do. I must never be satisfied, but look ahead.

"I am full of pride, and am growing very overbearing, . . . and there is fierce indignation in my heart at all the sufferings of the poor, and at the wrongs and oppression too, I may say. Have been scratching a little poetry at night instead of learning my chapter and poetry. I wonder if there is any good in my trying to rhyme. I have a lofty ambition. I sometimes fancy I shall do great things, but will it not all come to nothing? Yet I should like never to be forgotten, to do something great for my country which would make my name live for ever. But I am only a woman.

"I feel a good deal the want of conversational powers; when I go out, I have nothing particular to talk about. I am often stupid.

"My birthday. O Lord, I desire with all my heart and soul to do Thy holy will. I am often tired and weary of working, but I will try never to stop. If it is Thy gracious pleasure, I should desire to be able to do great things; if not, as it seemeth best unto Thee, O God.

"I believe I am considerably changed in the last year, yet I know not how exactly. I now act very much more from impulse, and I think more quickly. I am much happier in my mind. I seldom if ever feel puzzled what to do when I go out to parties, I am more gay and lively, though sometimes I am very stupid, and in a general way cannot talk well to gentlemen. I cannot talk the common flirting slang or nonsense (not that I suppose all or very many girls do), I do not like to speak about books, and so I seldom find a subject. I still like visiting my poor friends, though sometimes it is a burden to me. I have so many to look after, and it gives me the horrors to go into some of their wretched dens. I would often fain

stay at home and read my books. However, duty must then come in and take the command, and I trust I shall never prove rebellious or lazy. Yet I am often comforted and encouraged by many sweet scenes of kindness to each other, family affection, innocent childhood, though I sometimes meet with disappointment where I expect most. But upon the whole I think the good predominates; at least, if it does not, there is a large portion of it. And we must not let wickedness and misery weary us from seeking to promote goodness and happiness.

"Lately I have taken a great fancy to rhyming, and waste a good deal of time in that way, not that I write much, but I am always trying and beginning a dozen pieces. I am still reserved until the ice is once broken, and then it is almost impossible to stop the stream of my thoughts and feelings and actions being all precipitated from their bed, and I think they rush down with greater violence from the former restraint. But I think I ought rather to cultivate reserve in some things. I am naturally so dotingly fond of praise and of such a boastful, proud turn of mind, it is absolutely necessary for me to be reserved, unless I would become one of those who seek alone the praise of men.

"Getting anxious about Georgy. I sometimes fear, I have a sort of foreboding of evil, but it is less than it was.

"One thing I fear in myself, that I may not improbably follow other people's ways more than I ought. Thus, if I cannot find people who will talk as I like, I shall be induced to talk as they like.

"*February.*—Considerably disturbed with apprehensions about poor Georgy.

"I have got rather gloomy to-day, I cannot exactly

say why. I fancy I want companions—friends who would really understand what I long after and take an interest in my pursuits; those who see the duty of working for others, and trying to improve matters, and put a stop to some part at least of the misery, wickedness, and ignorance that surrounds us, who feel that this must be the business of our lives, our everyday employment. . . . But yet I do not know what to do, and my weak heart often recoils from going into many of the scenes of misery about; it grows lazy in its work, and would fain rest. I do see misery sometimes till I am quite heart-sick. The thoughts of marriage and such things do certainly come very often into my mind now.

"I have still a great hankering after learning Greek. I might do it if I would only be diligent. I am sorry my poor book is done. I believe there is truth in it. [End of 1st vol. of Journal.]

"I am beginning a new book. What can I say about myself? am I changed since I began the last? Most certainly I am, but how? Well, what are my present views and aims? . . . I desire knowledge. I do not think so much for its own sake, but for the sake of exerting my faculties in acquiring it. There is an uneasy restlessness about my mind, and it is only by constant exertion and constant employment it can be in any measure appeased and kept quiet. I love Wordsworth's poetry much, and Cowper's. Milton I have not mastered yet. Shakespeare is beginning to interest me. *Othello* has taken my fancy amazingly. Well, I think I see more now the misery of a large portion of my countrymen. I see it and feel it. It makes me groan, and I long and sigh to be in a situation where I could labour incessantly for their benefit. No, I

would not care about comfort or enjoyment if I could only do this. My heart often burns for my country, and yet I am lazy, and do not do all I might—there is great laziness after all at the bottom of me, and I have need to remember this. Often, too, I get wearied and worn out with the sight of so much misery, and, most of all, degradation, sometimes baseness and wickedness. This is the worst to bear. I frequently aspire after being and doing something great, that I may be remembered. Yet I care not for honour or praise if I could only really do something to benefit my fellow creatures. If I were a man, I would not work for riches, to make myself a name or to leave a wealthy family behind me. No, I think I would work for my country and make its people my heirs.

"But now let me look what has been in my heart of lighter feelings. I have thought, I must say, a good deal of love and marriage. . . . I feel indeed that I could love most intensely, most fervently, and never will I marry unless I do.

"*March.*—Friday night, went with father and Margaret to the play—saw the *Rivals* and Van Amburgh's lions, etc. Very much interested and amused. Felt very strangely the next day, and as I did not read much or do anything of that, but was working almost all day, I had liberty to let my thoughts range; they were about love, marriage, etc. It is certainly strange I should think of such things so much. It must be wrong. This play brought all these things more vividly into my mind, and made me fancy all sorts of stuff. I have been lazy, dull, and silent the greater part of the day, and felt inclined only for thinking, and then my thoughts were foolish. . . . My luxurious idle way of spending my time for the last ten

days has certainly enervated me considerably. I want hard study and hard working to make me active and steady again.

"Reading *Childe Harold*, *The Bride of Abydos*, *Manfred*, not much of Wordsworth, a little of Byron's life.

"I see that Margaret has three times the quickness in reading, learning, or remembering anything that I have; then she can talk much better. I see plainly I am very slow, and have a very bad memory. I cannot lay hold of things without considerable difficulty. Then I have not altogether a good temper. I have a great tendency to be overbearing, contemptuous, and rude. I believe suspicion and jealousy have been pretty nearly eradicated, and I have also learnt to endure superiority without envy.

"Have heard from Arthur—very much pleased. He is my best friend and adviser. He often keeps me from falling into foolish ways, talking of foolish things, etc. I do not like to do or say anything that he would not like, because I believe he is wiser than I am.

"*April.*—Now my winter's going out is ended. I believe I have found out that I am not at all to suit the general taste. Scarcely anybody ever thinks of dancing with me twice; in short, I am considerably stupid, I never can find much to say. I think I am growing shyer; I do not like to talk to gentlemen, I always feel bothered. I like dancing more, and going out a little occasionally, however, not less. I see how people carry on, etc. etc. I am shyer too in speaking openly in my letters, in talking to the school children, and, indeed, in almost everything. Yet I am often very overbearing and contradictory, fond of having my own way in everything, and generally manage to get it too. . . . I have grown fonder of calling,

and begin to like some of our friends. I must try not to neglect the poor people, but really I begin to find it almost too much to visit the whole school, and it will be more so now I have taken a district for distributing tracts. I think I shall like this very well.

"*May.*—D'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation*, which we have been reading, has rather set me a-thinking about Faith, Justification, etc., Luther's notions. I hardly understand, and I do not think they are exactly what I have thought. 'This is the victory which overcometh the world, even our faith.' It is the belief in our Saviour's sufferings for us, in all His love, which makes us work. If He so loved us, we ought also to love one another, and this love one for another makes us seek each other's welfare. I don't see that we are to have any motive in this, but that the love which is in us makes us do all this naturally, and constrains us to work. Is not this the Spirit of God which stirs in our hearts? This is perfection, the perfection which we are to strive after. But how many hindrances do we find in our own hearts to the attainment of this perfection. Selfishness and idleness, and sometimes the situations we are placed in. And it is only the constant thought of Christ's death, and looking at the example He has left us of unwearied exertion for others, which can produce in us that faith which overcometh the world.

"I liked the district business better this week, and I like mother going with me.

"I do not look so closely into my heart, and watch how my time is spent, as I used to do.

"Reading *History of Charles XII.*; *Hermann and Dorothea*, Bruce's *Travels*. Reading the *Fairy Bower*,

This book has made a great impression on me, it is so like children and their ways, and my own ways too. I can understand all about it, and I think it will teach me many things. I might have learnt one thing to-day that might have prevented my pressing J. D. not to speak of Mrs. R.'s conduct.

"I fear I am growing daily more disobliging; I really wish I could mend. I am determined I will do what I am asked directly, and I will try to exert my mind more. If I could do these things, I should be much happier, though I do not know any part of my life [in which] I have been happier. I very seldom feel lonely. Father and mother are so good to me. I could like never to leave them.

"I have not had such a longing to be back in Charleston for a long time. I seem to want my old friends again. I feel lonely, and a desire for the company of those of my own age. I don't know anyone that exactly suits; and then, too, this summer weather makes one sigh after the country; there is scarcely anywhere to walk.

"I believe it is not good to live very much alone, one has no one to give up to or serve. I can see plainly I am grown much more selfish, and fond of my own way.

"*June.*—Was most exceedingly put out of the way last Sunday on hearing Arthur was only in the second class in the examination. I could not endure he should be beat by anyone. . . . However, I am beginning to get over it now.

"I see indeed, both in great and small things, how very far I am from that perfection I aim at. Nevertheless, O Lord, I will not faint or be distanced; the race is set before me, and in Thy strength I will run it, nothing must or shall stop me. Arthur comes home. . . . There has cer-

tainly been a quantity of show-off nonsense and attempt at talking finely about poetry, etc., which A. did not seem to approve of, and put off. I want praise too much, yet he is the only person from whom I really desire it. . . .

"*July.*—Charles and George came home; very much delighted, a great deal of talk. I think Charles is handsomer than ever. Feel very happy.

"After all, in this world it would be useless to expect perfect communion with anyone, especially where I have so many defects myself, and so much foolishness. There must be times when one will feel solitary, though truly I am always angry with myself when I give way to such feelings, for I have more friends than most people, and am more made of and thought of, and yet there is a lonely corner in my heart. This is not remarkable, it is so with everyone.

"Read some of Dr. Arnold's sermon this week, which struck me forcibly.

"*Min-y-don, August.*—Got a letter from mother which frightened me very much as to father's business.

"Father's letter arrives with the news that all is up with him.

"I go home by the coach—rather an amusing journey, saw a good many strange people.

"Find things very bad, father and mother very much out of spirits. The next week they began to mend. Arthur comes home and gets the promise of pupils.

"*October.*—Have been very busy about household work and other work, no time for reading, and have been obliged to neglect the school. Don't like my change of occupation much, but am glad to have an opportunity of learning these sorts of things.

"Arthur goes off to Rugby, leaves mother £90 of his earnings, very kind, and makes no fuss about it. It seems when he goes [as though] some bright star that shed a lustre round had disappeared. I could almost think Arthur has too low an opinion of my capabilities of keeping a school, which I desire most earnestly to do. This debt to Uncle Charles haunts me, I cannot bear the thought of being idle so long as it is unpaid.

"Went yesterday to a Protestant meeting. Was glad I had gone for once to see what sort of thing it was. I don't know what to think about it. I dare-say these people mean well, but such things are not likely to encourage a Christian spirit of kindness and charity.

"Last week Jane Corrie called and offered most kindly to assist me in preparing for my school duties. Very much rejoiced at it, and in very good spirits about my undertaking. But now I am beginning to despair of success. However, I am determined to use every exertion in my power to get a start. I will not leave one stone unturned, and I cannot help hoping that God will be graciously pleased to prosper me.

"*November.*—I do deeply regret not being able to look after my school children as I used to do.

"I am not desolate or solitary in my family by any means, quite the contrary, yet in many of my thoughts and feelings, especially about religion, I am solitary. I do not talk about them to anyone. But everyone must have a solitary place in his heart.

"*December.*—I must say I feel very desponding. No prospect of any scholars, nor has George a situation. All looks black and gloomy.

"I have some notion of going out day governessing, if I can get leave. Arthur does not like this plan.

"Have been on some scholar-hunting expeditions, which I did not like at all, but was always kindly received.

"*January* 1842.—Had an offer to go and teach at Aigburth, but it fell through; an offer of four scholars at home followed.

"Began my school.

"At times get very tired of school-keeping, and find it more laborious and wearisome than I expected. Little Margaret a great comfort to me.

"At Easter, Arthur came down from Oxford to see us, after he had gained the Oriel Fellowship. He was more like himself than he had been for a long time, talked more and seemed in better spirits.

"Began my holidays, to my great delight.

"Dr. Arnold dies, Arthur comes home for one day, and seems in great distress. I start for Pomfret.

"*August.*—Home, busy about school matters. Two new scholars. On the whole, like my occupation better.

"*September.*—Busy getting ready for George's departure. Arthur comes home on Monday, on which day George leaves for his ship.

"*October.*—Arthur comes on the 3rd, and father sails for America on the 4th.

"*November.*—It is my greatest wish and desire to be as quiet and gentle as Aunt Crowder. . . . When I think of my great roughness and laziness, my overbearing temper, my excessive love of praise and fear of offending others, and my want of charity, and fondness for talking of the faults of others, all my innumerable faults, I almost despair. But I will at anyrate try.

"Have been reading Newman's Sermons. They have made me feel afraid. I know I have become worse lately. . . . The world to me is not dark. I have friends whom I love and who love me, a home where I am very happy, employment which is only sometimes irksome, and which is, I trust, useful. I have bright hopes, not perhaps bright, but sweet, quiet hopes for the future. . . . Two things alone I can have to regret—the necessity for my father's absence and our debts.

"*December.*—I have felt completely wearied of my school duties and am longing for rest.

"Good news from America of father and George's success. Arthur also gets a lectureship. On the whole, a very busy month, no time for reflection.

"*May* 1843.—I fear I mismanage the children; however, I must try to do better. I shall not be sorry to give up school-keeping, I have too much to do now. The world looks dark and gloomy, I feel alone. I want a guide; but perhaps it is better I should be without. I am like the Israelites when they asked for a king.

"*June* 1843.—Started for Ireland on the 20th June, returned on the 8th July. Father arrived on the 24th, while I was away. Had a very pleasant visit, and feel the better for it. I feel a greater desire to be quiet than ever. It seems to me that to be quiet and to be active, or rather, to be quietly active, constantly going on with untiring energy, and yet so softly as scarcely to be perceptible, this seems to me to be an approach towards perfection. And this lesson we learn from Nature, which is unceasingly and yet imperceptibly changing.

"I feel better, and good thoughts come more freely to my mind, and calmness is not now a stranger there. . . .

"I have been thinking a good deal of America, and I am half inclined to think I should be happier there. Here we have few friends. I have scarcely any companions, and yet I love my native land, and Arthur is a strong tie to it, and Margaret too. Then there is that horrible slavery. No, I do not think I shall ever permanently leave England.

"Went to Rhual Issa with father; heard Dr. Hook preach, and met him at H. Ffoulkes's. . . . There was too much talk about High Church and Low Church to please me—not by Dr. Hook, but by the others. It seems people cannot do things quietly nowadays; they must make a great stir.

"*August.*—Arthur came home for the day. He told us all about his journey; was very kind. He brought me some books—Moultrie's *Poems* and Tennyson's and sundry other things. I felt as if we were children again. Charley and I had a long talk about our lack of friends, especially in this country, to suit our taste. . . . I shall certainly be sorry when he leaves home for a constancy, unless he were to be well married, which I should like of all things.

"*November.*—Father sails for America by the steamer. We remain very quiet, and get along comfortably together. Charles reads to us in an evening: *The Merchant of Venice*, Homer, and *The Last of the Barons.*

"On November 30th Charles came up from the office and brought us the account of poor dear George's death, and also of father's arrival. The thought that his own family were all away from him was very bitter. . . . Charles leaves by the steamer on December 5. Arthur comes home on the 18th, and is very good in reading to us in an evening.

"*January* 1844.—Have been reading Trench's poems, which are beautiful, also in the last year Moultrie's and Tennyson's, some of Shakespeare's plays, *The Last of the Barons* (a disagreeable book), *The Hour and the Man*, *Lives of Celebrated Scotchmen*, some of Cowper, a few of Newman's sermons, and Arnold's; the last, the new volume, are most beautiful.

"*February*.—Read *Deerbrook*. The book made a great impression on me. It showed me so many of my faults. . . . There is much like Hester in me, but I am not so bad.

"Arthur's visit at home did me a world of good; that and reading Miss Bremer's works have put down a great deal of that morbid sentimental nonsense which I was full of. I like visiting among my poor friends better, and going to the Welsh school too. . . . Reading Coleridge's works; like the second volume, but not the first. Learning French of Mr. Lefevre; like it very much. Am reading Madame de Staël's *Dix Années d'Exil*. Finish Carlyle's *Past and Present*; like it very much. It makes one long to be able to do something. I feel very lazy often, but I long to be able to make some money, that we might get free of debt.

"*April*.—Arthur brings some new books: Froissart's *Chronicles*, *The Life of St. Stephen*, a volume of Trench's poems. Like them all, Trench's poems extremely.

"*The Life of St. Stephen* is a strange book, but it made a great impression on me. It seems to me that the men in those times were in many ways better than at present. There was more self-denial, and they lived in a greater spirit of prayer; but yet it appears to me we should go backward in some measure were we to follow their example

implicitly. We must try to learn to do everything in a Christian way, and to think constantly in a Christian way, then those constant daily, almost hourly, prayers will not be so needful. But certainly it does appear a good practice, especially for the young, to teach them to keep God always in their thoughts.

"*June.*—Pleasant journey to Braunston. . . . Various walks about the neighbourhood. Visited Rugby; went over the school and saw my brother's studies, the great schoolroom, the library, and the hall. Saw a good many people while at Braunston . . . but upon the whole I did not feel at all in spirits. Arthur wrote me a great many letters to cheer me up, and they did me good."

CHAPTER III

LIFE AT LIVERPOOL—1844-1852

For the next eight years Anne and her mother lived together in Liverpool. They were far from well off; and partly for this reason, and partly on account of Mrs. Clough's disinclination for society, they led a very quiet life. They had only a very small circle of acquaintances in Liverpool, though they had a few friends whom they valued highly. They saw much of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Bulley and their children, and of Mr. and Mrs. Calder and their family; and Anne had much pleasant intercourse with Mr. and Mrs. William Conybeare, who lived for a time within easy reach of the Cloughs. She had now, too, found a congenial friend in Miss Wotherspoon, whose name appears frequently in the journal; and about this time she became intimate with Mrs. Claude and her daughters, who lived at Ambleside, but were occasionally in Liverpool.

Charles Clough lived at home with his mother and sister until 1846, when he married his cousin, Margaret Clough, and soon after this he settled in Wales. Arthur kept up constant communication with them; and throughout this period he was their chief help and stay, and, as one of their friends remarked, he helped Anne quite as a sister might have done in all home arrangements. He and Anne seem to have been drawn closer together than

ever after their father's death, and she turned to him for sympathy and help in difficulties of all kinds. He wrote to her about the management of her poor children, about servants (in one letter he regrets that she has now nearly all the cooking to do); and when she was about to visit him at Oxford, he sent advice about her clothes, adding that he ought to be at home to assist her in choosing them. He wrote much about books too, and sometimes about her studies, as in the following letter, written in 1846:—

"I will consider the subject you speak of, my dear. On the whole, I should incline to study arithmetic and grammar, *perhaps*; but you must remember that a great advantage is given by *any sort of cultivation* (music, drawing, dancing, German, French, etc. etc.) for intercourse with the poor. They feel the distinction very sensibly, and carry their liking for a lady almost to the vice of liking a fine lady. I should suppose you were not at all exceeding on the side of over-refinement in your present course; and I should say you might very well keep to it, in the hope of some day finding an opening for more perfectly accomplishing your wishes. Doubtless there is a danger of letting one's energies perish; but I *fancy* you over-estimate that very readily in your own case, though, of course, of this you must be the judge."

He seems to have felt that her ardour for teaching and other work among the poor was almost excessive, but he evidently respected her opinions and thought highly of her capacity; and in his letters he repeatedly expresses the wish that she should have a wider sphere, and an opportunity for work "more up to your mark."

Anne gave up her little school in 1846; but she

worked harder than ever at her teaching in the Sunday school and the National schools, and entered upon various new undertakings, such as a lending library for the school children and a weekly reading for women.

She still paid occasional visits to her relations in Wales and Yorkshire, and under Arthur's guidance she made acquaintance for the first time with the Lake country. She went for a little tour with him to the various lakes, and at different times spent several weeks with him and her mother at Grasmere and Ambleside. In 1846, also, Arthur took her for her first journey abroad.

Mrs. Conybeare has kindly sent me some reminiscences of her acquaintance with Miss Clough at this time, and among them the following:—"She had one pleasure quite her own; she had found it out and arranged it all herself, and we thought it was the chief joy of her life. Whenever she could get a spare afternoon, she hurried to the workhouse school, and persuaded the authorities (rules in such places were not then very cut-and-dried or definite) to let her take some twenty of the little girls for a walk. My husband and I often met them exploring the banks and the hedgerow ditches of the few country lanes about Everton and Edgehill for the few flowers growing there, both she and the children looking supremely content and happy. It was the pleasantest sight to be seen in those somewhat dreary regions, and always sent us home refreshed.

"We had a true admiration for her, and felt hers was a character of rare childlike simplicity, combined with a beautiful perseverance in well-doing. . . . Her brother used to send her from Oxford boxes of books, light reading and otherwise, volumes of which she would often

bring over to our house, that we might be partakers of them also. . . . I remember my husband was much struck by the way everything doubtful or evil in what she read fell off from her as a drop of water from a cabbage-leaf. There was nothing in her which comprehended it—or, if it comprehended, took any interest in it."

After 1844 the Journal becomes much less detailed than in earlier years, and is written only at irregular intervals; but it is still a very frank and full record of Anne's thoughts and interests at this time, as the following extracts, covering the three years from 1844 to 1847, will show:—

"1845, *February*.—Months have passed away since I last wrote in my Journal, and how many things have happened. My father lies in his grave. Charles has returned. Myself, I am changed. How many conflicts I have endured, the evil and good passions have conflicted in my soul. Yet can I say now, thank God, there is much peace in my soul. . . .

"The recollections of my beloved father come over my soul like the soft breezes of spring. When it is dry and hard, then does the thought of him thaw my frozen heart, and make it melt into softness.

"*April*.—It really seems useless to try and write up the history of the past months. I must wait till a quieter time. This month I have had some pleasant, or rather interesting, conversations with Augusta Wotherspoon. . . . I do feel the greatest desire for her happiness, and the greatest interest in her altogether. She suits me very well, because she seems to enter into my opinions and wishes about working, and to think so little about marriage.

"I have been greatly excited this week by a letter. . . . My poor Welsh school children comforted me greatly by their attention and seriousness, and made me feel more forgiving than I should have done otherwise. I do so hope some of them will turn out well. . . . Arthur wrote very kindly to-day, which is a comfort; everyone is not unkind. . . . Much peace has come into my soul of late. . . . Beautiful thoughts and hopes spring from my work, and often do I thank God for my being. I want to study German one hour a day, Latin another, to read for another to myself and draw. I seldom get more than half of this done. . . .

"To-day, Sunday, have been reading a little of Miss Martineau's *Hour and the Man*, the chapter entitled 'Suspense,' and the end. The ideas contained in this chapter seem to have grown up imperceptibly in my mind, and the reading of Froissart has greatly helped their development by setting before me vividly the state of society in former times. The faults of those times seem to have been cruelty and disregard of human life and seeking for glory and honour by strength of hand; in short, by bodily power. With these were joined much faith and reverence towards God. There seems to have been no shame in people's religious feelings, and they acknowledged God in their everyday actions and daily intercourse without being ashamed. But there was a want of charity, as Miss Martineau says. There was a great degree of selfishness, a seeking of glory and renown from their own deeds. No doubt there were many noble exceptions. Charity has grown up into a mighty tree in these times, and yet it is but very, very small compared with what it ought to be, a mere shrub.

And this charity seems to extend only to the body; charity to the mind, that charity which will suffer a diversity of opinion, which will give equal rights to those who think differently, is only beginning to be thought of. That charity which regards all men as equal, and as such acknowledges that all should be regarded and treated as brethren, is made a joke of, or, at best, only approved of by the few. Many would think it strange my reading such a book on Sunday, but it has done me much good It has rubbed up and polished my wish of working.

"We have taken the house in Canterbury Street. Began the move; had nine of the school children. They were very good, and helped us a great deal. They seemed so happy, it made me feel happy too.

"I went on Saturday to bid good-bye to the old house and our father's room. . . . A new house brings many new thoughts. I hoped it might be kept free from angry passions. But what are wishes? A month has passed, and many fierce, angry thoughts have swelled in my soul, many unkind words have been spoken.

"*May.*—I have been unable to keep order in the school to my heart's content. This has teased me much, and I fear I have been somewhat cross. However, I trust no serious harm has been done to the children; I believe I manage them as well as most people, and though it is but a poor comfort, yet it is a satisfaction to think they would not be better managed elsewhere. I hope, however, to do better soon. . . . Miss Sedgewick's *Home* is a nice book altogether; I liked the part about spending Sunday and Mr. B.'s intercourse with the poor very much, and also about the household arrangements and the adopting of orphans. I half hope I may, by means of my school,

manage something of this sort by and by, and thus rear up some young ones to take care of me and call me blessed in my old age.

"Paid a visit to Mrs. Conybeare, and had a pleasant talk with her about town-life and poor people. Of late the town seems to have many voices which enter into my heart. I like walking in the morning early, when the streets are quiet. One looks forward to the bustling day which will soon come, and then one hopes that even amid its cares and toil many hearts will send up prayers to God, and that many even then may be thus watering their hearts, as Trench's beautiful sonnet says, that all the freshness of the morning may not pass away till the evening and the evening dews return. And, too, even in the greatest bustle we see things which tell us plainly that all that is beautiful and holy in man has not died away.

"*June.*—Went to the school late on Sunday morning, said some few words to the children on our parting. . . . They know that I love them in my heart, and some of them feel it. Oh, is it not beautiful to possess the love of children, and to have the hope of leading them in the right way? To see the bud begin to open, the rough, rude girl become quiet and serious and begin to think. My garden looks hopeful. May God water the plants with heavenly dews.

"On Wednesday we started on our journey. We went first by railroad to Lancaster, then by canal to Kendal. . . . At last we came in sight of Windermere, quiet and dark in the dull light of the evening. It was still too, it looked like peace; such as the evening of life should be after a morning and noontide of busy toil.

Then we went on to Fox How. It is situated in a valley, standing on a bank; Loughrigg rises up on the left hand, close to it, rather behind it; to the right the valley opens out and extends to Ambleside, and the mountain in front, which, I suppose, is the bosom of Fairfield, bounds the view, joining on, I think, to Loughrigg. The river Rotha runs at the bottom of the garden, or rather grounds. There is a terrace in front of the house, and the garden lies below. The house is built of the rough country stone, which does not seem to be cut, the pieces being of all sizes. It is very nicely overgrown with creepers, roses, etc. . . . They seem very nice friendly people, very sociable and easy to get acquainted with. Matt is very merry and facetious, Tom quiet, Miss Arnold rather a decided sort of person. Mary very pleasant and amiable, as also Susan. Fanny a merry, wild child.

"On Saturday we proceeded through Borrowdale by Honister Crag to Buttermere. . . . In the evening on the lake [Crummock Water], a lovely quiet evening, the water very still, the reflections were beautiful. Melbrick is a grand mountain. It extends near two miles, I should think. The lake turns near where it begins, so that the whole of it is not seen from the Buttermere end. There is a farmhouse beautifully situated on the other side on a woody bank overlooking the lake, the mountains high behind; then, a little farther, if I remember right, a mountain rises forward and descends down into the lake, and is backed by a still loftier one. The shadows on this mountain, which looked bright and green stretching itself forward to the sun, while the one behind was in the dark, made a beautiful picture.

"The people we became acquainted with while in the

Lakes were the Arnolds, the Fletchers, . . . Greaves the guide, a widow at Buttermere, Mrs. Nicholson, some children, Arthur's pupils, Bradley, Church, Fisher, Bastard, Gibson. Saw Wordsworth and Miss Martineau.

"Books read while at Grasmere—*Life in Dalecarlia*, by Miss Bremer; *The Betrothed*, an Italian work; Emerson's Essays; some of Wordsworth; *The Rose of Tistelön*; some pieces out of *The Prospective Review*; part of Blanco White's Life; some little of Tennyson.

"Blanco White had a tremendous effect on me, and also those parts of the *Review* I read. I thought I could not but believe much the same, and this distressed me greatly. . . . We (Arthur and I) had spoken a little on the Sunday before on the subject of baptism, which he seemed greatly inclined to regard as merely a sort of form which had been instituted as a sign of admission into the early Christian Church, and useful then, when outward signs for everything were constantly required, but he seems half inclined to doubt whether there was any use in continuing it. . . . I had felt for some time a sort of freedom growing up in my thoughts, I half fancied from seeing the open mountains, breathing the pure air, and so I had been prepared to be liberalised. About baptism I had felt for some months a sort of uncertainty, had avoided as much as possible expressing any opinion, and it seemed to come gradually to my mind that it must be only a form, though that it might not be necessary never struck me. I was thus in some measure prepared to be liberal in reading Blanco White. I was greatly horrified at the light in which he seemed to regard the Bible and the bad effects that Christianity has produced. I cannot but think he carries his opinions too far on these points. I liked

what he said on prayer very much. It does seem to me to be best when we can bring our hearts into a constant spirit of earnest longing after what is right, and a firm determination, or rather habit, of trying to do what is right. There is no occasion then of kneeling down or repeating forms to make prayers; we live then in a constant aspiration after being transformed into the image of God, and when through our weakness we fall into sin, the habitual desire of our mind being contrary to sin, we shall immediately be sorry and try to turn back to what is right. But I think we cannot expect all this to come at once. It surely must require some discipline of mind, some habit of constantly turning the thoughts to God; and may not forms of devotion and frequent times set apart for such purposes help the young to acquire a belief in Him who is invisible, and a constant sense of His presence? I half think my constant realisation of God's presence has been greatly brought about by the use of Cosin's private devotions for some two or three years. And Blanco White may not have been sensible what he gained in his childhood by acquiring a sense of this. He always seems to have earnestly wished to do right. . . .

"Upon the whole, I feel puzzled and uncertain, and I cannot speak as I used to do to the children. I hope light to understand all this will come in time, but I must say my anxiety about it made me feel very much out of spirits on my return home, and I fear I gave way to a great deal of hastiness and overbearingness. I did not manage the children well at all after I began school again. . . . My six children came back to school, a good beginning.

"*August.*—I have changed my day for my weekly class, and have set the children to read Mrs. Markham's *History*

of England and to learn geography. I hope the plan will answer. I want to give them a love for reading something better than common story-books, and to get them to like better things in general. It seems to me that this is the right way to raise the lower classes, and I do not see why we should seek or wish to keep from them any of those things we find beneficial to ourselves. I cannot see why they should be kept from knowledge for fear we should have no one to do our drudgery work for us. It seems to me there will always be plenty of people who will like that sort of thing.

"*September.*—Arthur came home on the 14th. We had a great many pleasant talks together, some on Blanco White and the criticisms of his Life, and some on our own affairs. He spoke once on the subject of the pursuit of knowledge. He said there was a great danger of its being pursued in a wrong spirit, viz. from vanity and a desire of being remarkable, or a sort of idle curiosity—then it might lead us astray. But if we in all humility sought after it, and avoided especially any partiality for our own opinions getting a strong hold of us, there would not be so much danger of our going wrong. In truth, I daresay, it might be hard to many to avoid a certain pride in thinking they know better and have more extensive views than others. Arthur was very kind all the time, and what he said helped me very much, but still I feel rather unsettled.

"I often feel very much out of sorts, and half wish we were out of Liverpool. We lead such a very solitary life, and I am beginning to fear I shall not see much fruit of my labours. And my anxieties make me cross and ill-natured, and altogether sometimes everything looks very

black. But it is a shame of me thus to disregard my blessings, and I hope I shall get out of all this cloud. It ought to be enough that I have the opportunity of ministering to the happiness of at least some few.

"Had a good deal of talk with Arthur about the Atonement and some other things. He said it would be best to teach according to St. John's Gospel, that Christ came to lead us to the Father, and that through Him we are united to God.

"*January* 1846.—I have felt much happier of late, not so disturbed. I have got not to care so much for other people's opinions, or rather what they think of me.

"Carlyle's *French Revolution* has done me, I hope, a great deal of good. It has made me feel much stronger. But there is too much hurry about me; I do not do things quietly enough. I want to do a great deal more if I could manage it, and I must try. My class of Welsh schoolgirls interests me much. They seem to be improving and to get more civilised.

"*February.*—Began a weekly reading in St. Andrew's Street. Four people came the first time, and three the second. I hope it will succeed. I want to get the people to see the comfort of being clean and tidy.

"My plan of having another class of elder girls must stand still at present. Whether it will ever be managed I know not. I should like something on a larger scale. I have been visiting a good deal among the children's parents, and there has been a great increase in the attendance at the Sunday school. I have got a nice class now, and hope to keep it. I fancy the tea-parties at Christmas helped a good deal.

"*April.*—Arthur comes home. He is very kind and

encouraging, but I feel stupefied, and cannot talk as much as I could have liked. It seems to me I am too much engrossed with my little circle of interests. In short, I am unfit to be an agreeable companion. My vocation is to speak kind words to children, and do what I can among the poor. I always feel the defects of my education most painfully when I go out. I want sharpness sadly. I am altogether too heavy. Some talk with Arthur about marriage, also about the duties that single women owe to their families. Arthur and I went to the Conybeares'. A long discussion between Arthur and Mr. Conybeare about the treatment of infidels, or rather of inquirers after truth. Mr. Conybeare seemed to think that Christianity ought to be received because it was Christianity, on the faith of what it had done, and that no unbelievers had ever devoted themselves so entirely to promote the benefit of their fellow-creatures as Christians had. Arthur thought it was a great duty to destroy or explain any dogmas or doctrines that might stand in the way of these unbelievers becoming Christians, and to show them that Christianity was what they wanted to make them perfect. They spoke of Shelley. Mr. Conybeare said he led a luxurious life abroad, that in his case there was probably a great pleasure in going contrary to his friends. Arthur thought that he did not lead a luxurious life, and while he was sailing about those Italian lakes he might probably be passing a life of mental exertion, striving to live above the world and to give a body to his thoughts and aspirations in his poems. In fact, I suppose he was making wings for other people to fly on. It was a great pleasure to listen to this discussion, and hear so much that was interesting without having to say anything. Arthur left us on Easter

Eve. I feel very much out of sorts about it, more so than usual. However, I managed to work harder next week, both at drawing and reading. Am beginning to get up my spirits again."

In June 1846 she went with a friend to visit her brother at Oxford, and then went abroad with him.

"Such a pleasant time we had, and Arthur shone so in his hospitality and gentle politeness. I saw some of his friends, Dr. and Mrs. Greenhill and Tom Arnold, Mr. Temple and young Walrond, etc.

"I was delighted with Louvain, and really began to understand I was abroad. . . . We started by railway for Cologne, had some German companions who were returning from England; one of them had been formerly in Queen Charlotte's household, and had been allowed to see the Queen and young royal family, with which she seemed greatly charmed. There was also a Belgian youth with whom I had some talk in French. . . . Crowds of people were in the third-class carriages, and they seemed exceedingly merry and happy, as also the guards and other people belonging to the road. . . . The latter part of the road lay through a great open plain, undivided by hedges of any kind. . . . On the steamer I soon made acquaintance with a young Spaniard, lately married to an Englishwoman. They were going to Wiesbaden, along with another couple, Dutch people—the latter lady was the most pleasing and modest. The Spaniard and I talked a great deal, and had a discussion on the Roman Catholic religion, etc., and on the whole it was very amusing. . . . I had some talk with a Russian party; they were fine-looking people . . . they were not very sociable. I also talked a little German to a young woman of Mannheim, who was going there with her little boy. . . .

"At Lucerne Arthur met his friend Cotton and his wife. . . .

"We took leave of the Cottons at Magadino, and went in a carriage to Lugano. We had a great deal of conversation about various things, principally about our future plans; the necessity, or rather great benefit, of women finding work, and considering it a duty to do so, and also whether they are at liberty to choose their own paths in some cases (I mean single women), without reference to their families. Then, again, about the advantages and disadvantages of one class of people holding themselves distinct, and the evils that proceed from constant intercourse with those beneath you, also the advantage and comfort of companionship among one's equals and those interested in like pursuits. . . . Drove to Luino on Lake Maggiore, through rich country by the banks of a winding river, the moon very beautiful, some fine trees by the side of the lake. A discussion about servants. Arthur's proposal about having servants merely for the day. He thinks it is not altogether right that the mistresses should take the direction of their servants' dress and conduct, etc. He thinks they might live in communities in boarding-houses.

"*March* 1847.—How many things have happened since I wrote in this book. . . . There was my coming home with Arthur, and my distress at the final conclusion of my school, which set me as it were afloat on the world again for occupation. Then I began my new class twice a week of old schoolgirls and others whom I knew who did not attend school, mostly elder girls, and going on with the district and the reading, and the old Welsh School class, besides a weekly visit as formerly to the girls' and infants'

schools, and going twice on Sunday to attend two large classes, and more preparation for teaching, which seemed to answer. Then I had my German and painting to attend to, and general reading. Thus I managed after a while to get busy again, and to begin to be contented and happy.

"I go to visit the Claudes in September at Ambleside. Some delightful excursions. Had various discussions about married and single life, and one long talk with Jane Claude about working. Told her some of my notions about its being right in certain cases to quit even one's father and mother and family for work as well as for a husband.

"The only remarkable events of this winter were my going to the theatre twice, once with the Bulleys to see Mrs. Butler in *The Hunchback*, and afterwards to see Macready in *Richelieu*, both of which were great treats, especially the former. My German lessons and discussions with Mr. Migault were my chief amusement, along with Augusta W.'s society.

"The only little excitement I had myself this winter was in the attentions of ——. I don't think it was altogether fancy on my part. However, I made up my mind at once, and looked the danger full in the face There is no use giving the slightest encouragement when one is determined, even if one's feelings did waver for a moment, to stand out. By being too kind one runs the risk of being caught oneself and led into an unwise alliance, or else one may give a great deal of unnecessary pain. I don't think this was all my fancy, but it may have been.

"I have been reading Emerson's Essays, Arnold's *Rome* and some of his Sermons, some of Schiller's prose works, *Le Père Goriot* and *André* twice over, also *Zoe* and *Emilia*

Wyndham. Augusta Wotherspoon and I talked of our religious views, and on these we agreed far more than I expected; and I was utterly astonished when we spent two days at the Pritts' to hear her speak with such freedom and boldness of her views with regard to the Unitarians, when I was silent, or at least nearly so. I am still a great coward in speaking out my opinions, indeed in speaking at all, but I believe A.'s courage on that occasion has made me fully ashamed of myself, though I am still inclined to think it is best to avoid speaking on such subjects (I mean free-thinking subjects) in a general way. It is a fearful thing to unsettle people's faith. I have suffered enough in that way myself. . . . Yet it is easy to err on this side too through cowardice, for one ought not to be afraid to give one's friends pain if by so doing one can promote their higher improvement. Not happiness but perfection is what one should most earnestly desire and seek after both for one's friends and oneself.

"*May* 1847.—I still hanker after a more decided vocation of teaching, but I still greatly doubt my abilities for such an office. I fear I could not keep order, being besides altogether too hot-tempered and overbearing when I have the full swing of power in my own hands. I have learnt to accommodate myself to others pretty well, so that I can work pretty fairly as an occasional assistant. It has been my constant occupation through life.

"*May.*—The first new event I have to record is the engagement of Augusta W. to Mr. Migault. I have every hope that the alliance will tend to the happiness and improvement of both parties. A. will grow stronger, her peculiar powers and graces will be developed in married life, and I trust her trials may at least have no great bitter-

ness in them. Anyhow, it is better she should go forth and fight a battle with the difficulties of life than slumber in listless quietness, devoid of any great interests or lofty aims.

"When I came home from our travels, and began to learn with Mr. M. again, we had many interesting conversations, and from his vehemence against untruthfulness I learnt to be more strictly truthful, both in speaking and acting. His talks were the best sermons I ever heard on this subject. . . .

"Then, too, he talked about the impossibility of persons being really good Christians if they gave way to evil tempers. He would make no allowance for natural temperament. I remember being very much struck with this talk, because I had been always inclined to excuse my own bad temper on this score. His vehemence and scorn of evil roused me, and I began to despise my own weakness and to try to fight against it, and thus my energy began to grow. When he spoke of his feelings towards A., I was sorry for him, but I did not want to help him, nor did I see how I could. . . . The story of *André* made a great impression on me, and held me back from doing anything. . . . But this continual talking at last drove me to the determination to bring about some acting. . . . I believe I acted with perfect sincerity. That there were some selfish motives in my heart I acknowledge, but I did not let them sway me much. I thought very little about my motives, and tried to act straightforward. . . .

"However, I managed to tease myself pretty fairly about the matter, and at last became so unable to do anything that I accepted the Claudes' invitation to visit them at Broadlands. On Sunday a letter from Arthur brought me

consolation, and I stayed at home from church for quietness. Before I went, I went to dine with Mrs. Conybeare, and we had a great deal of very pleasant talk about many things.

"*June, Ambleside.*—Talked a good deal with Mary Claude about various things, as, for instance, the right principle that should guide us, whether it is not the voice of our own hearts that we should follow, or, at least, teach children to follow. In the evening, walked over Loughrigg alone. . . . I had beautiful views of Windermere and the Tarn, and over into Langdale, and saw most lovely things in the sky as I lay on the grass. The white clouds went careering over the pure sky in the most lovely and wonderful fashion.

"*July, Liverpool.*—I will try what I can do to break the chains of reserve and shyness that bind me fast, and thus rob me of much pleasure in my intercourse with others. I am not clever like many, I have not the power of taking things in in a moment, but I will try, at least, to be less shy and less heavy. What I have felt myself much wanting in this summer is the gentle kindness to others, particularly elders and those who are in trouble, and also power of amusing children, that the Claudes excel in. I am come home rather discouraged in many ways about myself, but I hope to do better, and work will soon set me to rights. If one can only do one's work well, one may bear anything, and I do not see, after all, that I am at all wanting in sympathy from others.

"*October, Wales.*—As usual, my book has remained unwritten up. I don't like writing it as much as I used to do. I have been a good deal at the Infant School, and I had a good many of them to play in the garden at

various times. The library continues to give satisfaction. . . . I have, at last, been introduced into the Hibernian School, and am beginning to get on slowly in it. I have enjoyed the morning Sunday school extremely. The children have been very attentive, and I have got on with talking to them very well. They enjoy reading Mary Claude's hymns very much.

"I went with Jane Claude and her uncle to see Jenny Lind. I was very much charmed with the simplicity of her acting, and the purity, but it did not excite me near so much as Mrs. Butler's and Macready's.

"Arthur came home; a good deal of fuss and trouble. . . . Arthur was very kind, in truth he is a sweet angel, so gentle and good and so considerate. He is the comfort and joy of my life; it is for him, and from him, that I am incited to seek after all that is lovely and of good report. Preach no sermons, give no precepts, but set before me a holy, beautiful example, and my heart will burn within me, and I shall surely long and strive to follow it. We had a pleasant, quiet talk on Sunday evening when he was at home. I told him of what M. and I had been talking, viz. eternal punishment, and that we did not like to believe it or think of it, and he said he had quite given it up, for the Greek words did not mean so much as that. This has been a great comfort to me, I have felt as if a great load was taken off my mind, and that I could be so much happier."

There are no entries in the Journal for 1848. It was an important year in the life of her brother Arthur, for in May he resigned his tutorship, and in October his fellowship at Oriel, and thus left himself without a profession. Writing of him twenty years afterwards, in 1868, Miss

Clough said: "He felt that, as he had fully made up his mind that he would not take Orders, and could not sign the Thirty-nine Articles, it was more honest and honourable to do this at once, without waiting till he was driven to it. His mother, though she said but little, especially disliked the idea of his resigning his fellowship, and thought it very foolish, and to her he did not like urging his religious scruples. In every way it was a bad time; investments were very low, and his mother's means at that time happened to be particularly small, and his own savings had become less; but it was no use, he was resolved, come what might, to take the leap, and so, at the age of twenty-nine, he went out from Oxford to seek his fortunes anew. For once, only for once, he decided on having a holiday. He rejoiced in his freedom, and for a time gave up all thoughts of the future. He went in the spring to Paris, where he saw a good deal of Emerson, and also came in for the disturbances of May 15, and for an exciting political situation, in which he was much interested, and of which he wrote to his sister and to others."

In October he came home to Liverpool, where, Miss Clough wrote, "he read aloud to his mother and sister Longfellow's poem of 'Evangeline,' and almost immediately after began 'The Bothie.' It was written in an upper room in a small house in Vine Street, looking over some open ground then unbuilt upon, just below Edge Hill. 'All its unfinished houses, lots for sale, and railway outworks.' The passage beginning—

'But as the light of day enters some populous city,'

speaks of what he saw then. He would rush out in the morning for an early walk; it is quiet then and still in

the awakening morning, and how perfectly it is described! The open ground is gone now, and the child no longer waits for its father by the scaffolding. These things moved him, and he wrote in a ferment and excitement, but enjoying and rejoicing in his work. His mother was reading Prescott's *Life of Pizarro* at that time; half to please her, and as a sort of remembrance, he put in the bit where Elspie says—

> 'Like the Peruvian Indians I read about last winter,
> Out in America there, in somebody's Life of Pizarro.'"

Later in the year he arranged to be at home for some time, and so enabled his sister to carry out a wish she had long had in her mind, namely, to attend a training school for a few months and learn something of the theory and practice of teaching. The following letter from him belongs to this time:—"Thanks for two unanswered letters (the last, by the way, very ill-spelt for a pupil teacher). Well, I think it likely enough I may be able to be at home for three months in the beginning of the year. If I get this tutorship offered me, I shall take it, for such things are scarce. But I don't expect it. It would probably be an immediate call. Otherwise, being at home is likely to suit me. If you go to the Borough Road School, I think living in lodgings will hardly do. You must bear the religion, etc., for a while. But of this hereafter.

"It is far nobler (meantime) to teach people to do what is good because it is good simply than for the sake of a future reward. It is, I daresay, difficult to keep up an equal religious feeling at present; but it is not impossible, and is necessary. Besides, if we die and come to nothing, it does not follow that life and goodness will cease to be in

earth and heaven. If we give over dancing, it doesn't therefore follow that the dance ceases itself or the music. Be satisfied that whatever is good in us will be immortal, and as the parent is content to die in the consciousness of the child's survival, even so why not we? There is a screed which will suffice for the present. Haven't you unpacked my boxes? The *George Sand* is in one of them."

She accordingly went to London in January, and spent three or four months there in lodgings, attending first the Borough Road and then the Home and Colonial School.

"1849.—I left home on the 16th of January, came to London, met Arthur, stayed a day at his lodgings with Mr. Temple there. I saw Matt Arnold and Mr. Gell. Then I went to lodgings in the Borough Road close to the school. . . . Arthur's poems [the volume called *Ambarvalia*, published jointly with T. Burbridge] reached me just as I was leaving home. They were what I could have wished, and my constant reading for a long time. I did not see Arthur again, he went away on Tuesday.

"The unruliness of the children at the Boro' Road was very painful. I kept to a class after a time, and I found I got on better, but still the teaching was never satisfactory. There was too much confusion and haste in it, and want of order and harmony. It seemed to be the rule to do everything by excessive energy and excitement, which certainly develops some good qualities, as quickness and spirit. But, at the same time, the children learn to prize these qualities too highly, and become self-conceited and vain. The characteristics of the children at this school are, as far as I could discover, great boldness and quickness, firmness and self-possession, combined in the monitors with a power of governing. They are also on the whole

very open and truthful and affectionate. But they are rude and overbearing to each other and to the teachers, are very much wanting in reverence, and are self-conceited and vain of their learning, which may partly proceed from the ignorance of many of the teachers. They are totally ignorant of any principle of obedience and very much wanting in nice ways and nice manners. At the same time, their great openness and genuineness of character makes them pleasing.

"Mrs. and Miss Palmer lodged in the same house as myself, and, Miss Palmer being at the school likewise, she and I were a great deal together, going backwards and forwards, and often sat up over my fire talking till midnight about school matters, differences of faith, amusements, our past lives, etc. She was very lively, and had a great taste for singing and was fond of fun; at the same time she was hasty, and said thoughtless things sometimes.

"We and her mother went to see the gay procession of the Queen's going to open Parliament. We stood on a board inside the railings round the Abbey near St. Margaret's Church. It was very gay, and the soldiers with their bright helmets and nodding plumes charmed me much, but the tall man who stood beside us, and took care of the women and children, stays in my memory most pleasantly.

"It seemed a strange and, in one sense, an unmeaning pageant, and yet it was beautiful too as a representation of the majesty of England and a decking and adorning of our external expression of law, order, government, and national feeling which made the heart beat quicker. Thus do we all seek to body forth our thoughts, but as man advances in civilisation, or shall I say rather in spirituality,

he will need less of this, or at least it will partake more of simplicity and beauty.

"And so we went back to our work again, and so did the gazing multitude, and the bridal couple we saw coming out of St. Margaret's Church in the morning were far away. . . .

"One Sunday I went to the Quakers' meeting. . . . Another time I went to St. Paul's, and walked afterwards to Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens, where I met the French children and talked with them about the Revolution. . . . Another Sunday I went to Rowland Hill's chapel, and another to St. George's, the Catholic chapel in Lambeth, which looked so beautiful with its many lights over the altar. There I heard a very impressive sermon from Dr. Oakley. . . .

"I gave three gallery lessons; the first was bad, the second better, the third pleased the elder children very much, and got me quite a name among them. I think my fault lies in not being sufficiently quiet and collected; there is a rambling, wandering feeling in my mind which prevents this. Moreover, I have great deficiency in power of expression till I get hot in my subject, and then I am not simple enough. . . . Mrs. Twining introduced me to Miss Taylor, and she took us to see the Home and Colonial School, which was very interesting, and I decided on going there. I went down to Hampstead with Mrs. Twining to stay with the Fields on Thursday March 10. A large family of them, eight children. Walked about the Heath, which looked very beautiful. Mr. Dighton, a young artist, was there; he was very pleasant, and interrupted agreeably the Emersonian discourse.

"On Tuesday went a ramble to the British Museum

and other places with Miss Lock. . . . I found the classes [at the Home and Colonial School] very interesting. The teachers and the pupil teachers were mostly very pleasant, and they all seem very happy and comfortable together. Mr. Dunning, the head master, is a good kind of man apparently, but rather over religious. The school is much stronger that way than the Boro' Road. I should fancy the teachers had not so much in them, nor so much mechanical knowledge as the Boro' Road people, but that they understand things better, and that from their lessons [the children] would acquire a greater love for information.

"On Saturday Mr. Temple and Mr. Bagehot came to breakfast, and Mr. Palgrave came afterwards. I had him to myself for an hour nearly, and we discussed Arthur's poems and Matt Arnold's, and various other things. People seem very fond of Arthur, and to think a great deal of him; but Arthur does not seem to mind much about people here; they don't seem to suit him exactly, and he gets wearied and worn out with the continual talking about religious matters; and I think, too, the pomp and grandeur trouble him. He does not appear at all to fancy coming to live in London. He says he prefers the North, and if he had a hundred a year, he would live in Liverpool with us. . . . I wish very much we could have come up to live with him, supposing I could have got a school, for I would not have liked to be idle; but that plan seems impracticable, seeing it would not suit mother. She would be quite lost without her usual employments and friends. It would have been such a pleasure to have kept matters in order for Arthur and seen some of his friends now and then. However, it seems as if it were not to be, so we must be content.

"*April.*—Mr. Lake, Mr. Simpkinson, and Mr. Burbidge came to breakfast. We stayed at home in the morning, and I got Arthur to tell me when some of the poems were written.

"People seem to be shocked at some of Burbidge's poems. I cannot say I have ever thought a great deal about them, but I did not discover the shocking part of them. It seems to me that people have yet to learn what real purity is. The indulgence of feelings and desires that are the natural offspring of our hearts, that grow up everywhere, in the savage and in the refined breast, cannot be said to be impure. As refinement increases, the spiritual part of our nature increases also. To those who are in a lower stage the bodily presence is almost a necessity, but to those who have risen higher, this, it appears to me, may become of less importance. And surely, as woman begins to take a more prominent part in the duties of life, this will be acknowledged and practised. The woman will no longer leave the business she has entered upon to go after her husband. . . . In a holy and beautiful communion she lives with her chosen one, but each walks alone in a round of duties, and the days of union are the Sabbaths of rest, the foretaste of a better life. Then will they go forth to their work refreshed and strengthened. They will surely seek to keep themselves pure, to aspire after what is best, for the thought of the absent one will be constantly present, and thus self will be, partially at least, forgotten. . . .

"Far would I be from desiring to upset the ways of the world, but at least I would desire that others might differ. Surely married life too often becomes dull and hard. People enter into close intercourse too suddenly.

We all know well enough that we are often disgusted with ourselves, and in this light must we appear to others; therefore it is a great relief sometimes to hide ourselves, so that we may wash off the stains and again look bright, that we may think over our weaknesses, and try to strengthen ourselves.

"Yes, and this holy love shall clothe our work and common occupations with an atmosphere all golden. Then shall we learn truly to pray, for we shall aspire, and it is when we aspire, when we feel our weakness, that we pray. And when the evening of life comes on, then may a more constant intercourse become desirable and attainable. The head and the hand shall begin to grow weary of work, and shall have earned a claim to repose. Or this closer intercourse may be entered upon sooner, as circumstances permit or inclination prompts.

"Some of these days perhaps I shall say this is all nonsense and untrue, but at least I shall have recorded that once I did thus dream of love, and that this dream has helped me to live. . . . I would not say that the being who has called forth my affections, has made me wish to live this spiritual life, is imaginary. No; far from it. My brother Arthur has been in a great measure all this to me. . . .

"I wondered to hear Mr. Palgrave talk about women as if only those like Lady Maria in Arthur's story were to be admired. I don't much fancy men often understand women; they don't know how restless and weary they get. Arthur was out nearly all of Monday and Tuesday. On the latter day I went to Chelsea to fetch the cigar-case he was to take for Mazzini, and was disappointed not to see Carlyle. . . .

"On Wednesday, after Arthur had left, I went to the Boro' Road School, and from there with Miss M'Leod to see the examination at the Poultry School, which was, on the whole, nice, though stiff. The order was beautiful.

"In looking back on my London visit, it seems to me that I feel myself much better fitted for holding intercourse with the middle class and the poor. I don't get on in a drawing-room. I have no jokes and no fun. I have too much lead in my composition, and, moreover, have very little power of expressing myself. I don't think I shall ever go out much into company of the drawing-room kind. I can get on respectably with other folk, though I am slow with most people, and want Jane Claude's fun and wit. . . . I have been so accustomed to conceal my thoughts, or veil them, that it has become a habit, and I have almost ceased to give an opinion, except about some of my own crotchets. . . . It is a great pity, in some respects, I did not take up teaching sooner. I am getting old and stiff now, and I fear I shall never be very quick about arithmetic. I have not sufficient abstraction of thought for the mental part. However, I have hopes that I should be able to manage a school at least better than some."

This account of her time in London is the last entry in the Journal which has been preserved.

While she was still away from home, Arthur accepted the position of Principal of University Hall, London, and as the work did not begin for some months, he took this opportunity of going to Rome, where he was detained for some months by the siege of the French, and where he wrote his *Amours de Voyage*. In the reminiscences before quoted, written after his death, Miss Clough says:

'It appeared to me that the journey abroad, and his stay among the works of art, had given him a greater amount of taste, a stronger love of the beautiful, and a longing for something superior to what he had been accustomed to. And the desire was awakening in him for a home of his own. The old home saw little of him after the settlement at University Hall. Circumstances were floating him away; but he was ever faithful to those that remained in it, and a shelter to them."

When he first settled in London, he discussed with his mother and sister the desirability of their coming to live with him at University Hall, but it seemed so doubtful whether he would keep the post long, and so doubtful also whether London would suit either of them, that the plan was given up. He did, in fact, give up this work two years afterwards, in 1851, and tried for a post at Sydney, and while hoping to obtain this, became engaged to be married. He was not, however, appointed, and in 1852 he accepted a suggestion made by Emerson, that he should try his fortune in teaching and literary work in America, and went out there in October of that year.

During the greater part of these two or three years, Miss Clough had been occupied with another little school of paying pupils. She started this to help her friend, Miss Wotherspoon, whose marriage was delayed owing to her father's business difficulties. Mrs. and Miss Clough invited her to come and live with them, and try to earn enough by teaching to enable her to marry, and with Miss Clough's help she succeeded in doing this in the course of a year or two.

Meanwhile, though they had given up the idea of going to London, Mrs. Clough and her daughter had made up

their minds to leave Liverpool, and were considering Ambleside as a possible place in which to settle.

Miss Clough had often considered the desirability of leaving Liverpool, where they had not now many friends, and lately she had begun to be anxious about her mother's health, for she had had a slight paralytic stroke, and to think that a quiet country place would suit her better.

Ambleside had many attractions for them, for they had been a good many times to that part of the country, and had come to have a number of pleasant friends and acquaintances there. Miss Clough took immense pleasure in the walks and sights of the lake country, and she thought, too, that the village would give her the opportunities she needed for going on with her teaching work, for, as she said, she could not live without teaching. Accordingly, Ambleside was decided on, and they moved there in the summer of 1852.

The extracts which I have given from Miss Clough's Journal show how much time and thought she gave to her teaching in various schools and classes and to her intercourse with the school children; but her ideas about these things, and especially about Sunday school teaching, are brought out more fully in some notes which she wrote in the form of suggestions to other teachers, and also in notes of actual lessons given to the children. These papers, written probably about 1846, are interesting, quite apart from Sunday school teaching, because she sets forth in them feelings and beliefs which not only actuated her at this time, but were active in her all her life, and influenced all she did, and for this reason I give extracts from them of some length.

She prefaces her suggestions thus: "It is usual for people to speak of the great duty of engaging in the instruction of the poor. Doubtless this is most true, and it is from a sense of duty that very many at first enter on this work, but I would rather speak of the great benefits we may ourselves derive from this employment, of the many holy thoughts and earnest aspirations after self-improvement that are awakened by engaging in the instruction of others. Then it is perhaps that we first learn to love our native land, and to desire heartily that its people may grow up, not a curse or a shame to it, but rather a blessing and a glory. Our family ties, our friendships hardly teach us this, but it is when we are thrown upon the simple connection or bond of being fellow country-people, of speaking the same mother tongue, and living in the same place, that we become truly national. We feel, or at least many of us must do, that it is amidst the well-known scenes of our native land, where the language, the manners and customs of the people are familiar to us, that we can best do a work, though it may be a very small one, in building up what is good, and pulling down what is evil. When these feelings have been aroused, then it is we feel how unfit we are to accomplish what we desire, then we become truly humble, and cry out from the bottom of our hearts, Who is sufficient for these things?

"We may, and should, earnestly study those we have to teach, that we may know how to turn what is in them to the best advantage. Christ was unwearied, we must be unwearied too. Amidst difficulties and discouragements we must continue steadfast. Surely, if we are allowed the great happiness of endeavouring to do some little towards furthering the coming of Christ's kingdom on earth, we

may be content though we see no fruit of our labours. The great misery is to be obliged to sit idly by, while wickedness and degradation grow rapidly around us. Christ was full of love, and how can we be otherwise when we find ourselves surrounded by young and helpless creatures, whom it is in some measure in our power to lead in the right way."

She goes on to consider the teaching, and writes: "The day is a day of rest, and we should endeavour to make our lessons pleasant and enlivening, though at the same time they may tend to awaken a love of what is good and holy."

We wish, she says, to inculcate kindness: "We must begin by being kind ourselves. I, for my part, never fancied I could get on with any child till I had learned her name and knew some little about her family, etc. The voice and the manner, everyone knows, have much to do in gaining or losing a child's confidence, and when this has once been gained, though even only slightly, a great step has been made. Your children will soon learn to love you, and surely this is a very important matter. We can do little good till we have found the way into their hearts, and how much easier and pleasanter it is for ourselves when our feelings are engaged in the work. Another very important thing is to teach them kindness to each other. In fact, to have a little Christianity acted as well as preached in our classes, and this may be done by inciting the elder ones to help and take care of the younger ones, and all to be ready to give up to each other, and not to want to keep the best things for themselves."

She suggests that the elder girls should learn poetry from "some of our good writers, which would tend to im-

prove their taste and give them an interest in better kinds of books.

"Many will say this is going too far. But can you go too far in exciting a love and appreciation of goodness and beauty? When our servants learn to love and understand these things, then with how much more grace and taste shall we be served and shall all our household matters be regulated. Then may we hope to see, at anyrate, less of coarseness and meanness in our dependants, and surely it is a great distress, a daily annoyance, to say the least, to have those about us in the commonest domestic relations who are guilty of any of these things. And, besides, what right have we to set any bounds to the improvement of others? and be assured there is no need for it, there are only, alas! too few who will really care about higher things, and let us not seek to stint their number and stop their growth."

In conclusion, she writes: "One thing more I must recommend, which is, Never, if possible, lose sight of your scholars when they go from under your eye into the wide world. The kind friendly greeting in the busy street will warm their hearts, and surely some pretext in the way of lending books or something of the sort may bring you together now and then. Thus you may keep an influence over your children, even into their maturer years, and surely the knowledge that you possess such a power will be an incitement to self-improvement, as strong to the full, I conceive, as each mother must feel. . . . Much do I rejoice that the teaching of the poorer children of our country is in a great measure left open to the superintendence of the women of England, and it behoves the higher classes to do their best to make a good and wise use of

this liberty, lest, if they neglect it, it may be taken from them. We may do much if we will to improve the homes of the rising generation, and let us not shrink from the task because it is a difficult and sometimes, as we must of course expect, a tedious one. Our hopes may often fail us and our hearts be sad with disappointment, and we may feel our spirits half crushed to the earth by the grievous sights around us, but yet we will take courage, the struggle we are engaged in is of God, not of man. In the end good shall surely triumph, and though we may not live to see any fruit of our labours, let us at least seek to deserve the commendation bestowed upon Mary, 'She hath done what she could.'"

A friend who knew her at this time, Miss M. A. Bulley, writes to me of Miss Clough's advice to her on this subject. She says: "Miss Clough encouraged me to begin to teach when almost a child myself, and used to take me with her to the Sunday school and the school treats, and I always remember her advice to me to give the children 'plenty of story,' as they were at school all the week and ought to have a little pleasure on Sunday." Miss Bulley adds: "The feature which, as a child, I most remember in Miss Clough was her strong love for children and her thoughtful kindness to them."

The lessons she gave were eminently practical, and show how clearly she realised the circumstances and feelings of the children. At the same time, all that she teaches them is evidently very real and living to her, and the ideas which she tries to share with them are those which have a special attraction for her own mind.

She tells the children: "The grand thing is to be earnest in following Christ's beautiful example and that

holy law which God has written in our hearts. Oh, learn to read your own hearts, to hear and to follow quickly the voice of your Heavenly Father who speaks to you there. Louder and louder shall that still, small voice become, till at last you shall continually hear it, sounding in your ears, mostly gently, though most steadily, 'This is the way, walk ye in it.'" Again, she says to them: "Don't try to be thought the best child in the school or at home. Try the most you can to be the best child, but do not mind if it is not found out. God will always know and remember when you try to do right, and He will send beautiful happy thoughts into your mind, which will seem like the soft wings of angels floating around you, and will sound in your ears like the music of their golden harps. Thus it is God rewards His children when they fight against their faults."

CHAPTER IV

LIFE AT AMBLESIDE—1852-1862

I HAVE unfortunately been unable to discover any diaries or letters belonging to the ten years during which Miss Clough's home was at Ambleside, and all that can be known of this time must be gathered from the recollections of friends, and from allusions which she herself made to it in later years, either in speaking or writing.

Ambleside, forty years ago, was of course very unlike its present self. It had not then become a centre for tourists and trippers, but was a regular village, and its ordinary village life was hardly affected by the few visitors who came to its one or two inns.

The Cloughs chose for their home a newly-built house about three-quarters of a mile from the centre of the village, up a steep hill called Eller Rigg, from which they named it Eller How. It was then a bare place, with few trees and few houses near, but it had a fine view along the side of Wansfell and across Windermere.

There were an unusual number of interesting people living in the neighbourhood at that time, and the Cloughs had many friends among them. Miss Martineau's house was not far from them when once they had reached the bottom of their hill, and Miss Clough used to go there pretty frequently, and saw a good deal of Miss Martineau's nieces, who lived with her and spent themselves in her

service. Near Miss Martineau were Dr. Davy, a brother of Sir Humphry Davy, and his wife, who was a daughter of Mrs. Fletcher. At the other end of the village were Miss Clough's intimate friends, Mrs. Claude and her daughters. One of them was Miss Mary Claude, of whose poems and stories Matthew Arnold wrote long after: "The breath of Westmoreland blows through them. They carry me back to the past days, when Westmoreland was the Westmoreland of Wordsworth and Hartley Coleridge . . . when the authoress of these stories moved in her youth and spirit and grace through that region, herself a vision worthy of it." Mrs. Arnold and her daughters were living at Foxhow, and at Grasmere there was Lady Richardson, wife of Sir John Richardson, and another of Mrs. Fletcher's daughters. And at Dove's Nest, on Windermere, there was Mr. Robert Perceval Graves, afterwards sub-dean of the Chapel Royal at Dublin, and the biographer of Sir William Rowan Hamilton. The Cloughs were more or less acquainted with all of these, and some of them were, or came to be, among Miss Clough's kindest and most valued friends. There was another person who cannot be omitted from any list of the notables of the district—Mrs. Nicholson, the postmistress of Ambleside, and the mother of the village, the friend of Wordsworth and of the Arnolds, and of everyone, distinguished or undistinguished, in the country side.

Miss Clough took keen pleasure in the country and in long walks on the mountains. Her Liverpool friends, Miss Bulley, Miss Margaret Calder, and others, used to stay with her sometimes, and share in her long tramps, and occasionally she had her brother Arthur as a companion.

Arthur Clough had, as I have mentioned, gone to

America soon after Miss Clough and her mother left Liverpool. He returned to England in 1853, to take an appointment which had been offered him in the Education Office, and a few months later he married and settled in London. His time after this was much taken up with his work and other occupations, and he was not able to be with his mother and sister as much as formerly, but he came to them now and then, and Miss Clough visited him and his wife occasionally in her school holidays, sometimes alone and sometimes with her mother. He was still, as Miss Clough wrote, a shelter to them, and still helped and advised her on various matters. After his mother became an invalid, for instance, it was he who came down and arranged that a trained nurse should be employed, lest Miss Clough should wear herself out with nursing.

It is clear that as long as Mrs. Clough lived, her health and comfort were, as it were, a first charge upon Miss Clough's attention, to which her other interests and occupations were subordinated. When they first went to Ambleside, Mrs. Clough was in fair health, and able to join in ordinary life, and enjoy seeing friends, and her daughter had plenty of time for her own pursuits, but after a few years she had a second stroke of paralysis, and became quite helpless, and grew gradually worse till her death in 1860. Fortunately, when she became seriously ill, Miss Clough was able to secure the help and companionship of a friend, Miss Crofton, whom she had known in Liverpool, and who now came to live with them. This lady was much attached to both Mrs. Clough and her daughter, and was a great comfort and support to them.

Miss Clough could not live without active work, and before she had been long at Ambleside she found an occu-

pation which became the chief interest of her life during these years. She had at first thought of teaching in the National Schools, as she had done at Liverpool, but she found there were difficulties in the way, and therefore looked about for another means of satisfying her thirst for teaching.

Her first step was to collect a few pupils from the families of her friends in the neighbourhood. These children, one of whom was Mary Arnold, now Mrs. Humphry Ward, came to live in the house with her. She soon added to these some day-scholars from the village; and after a short time she decided to establish a regular school for the children of the tradespeople and farmers, and went round—with her friend, Mrs. Claude, to introduce her—to all the tradespeople who had children, and asked them to send them to her to be taught.

The considerations which led her to take up this branch of work are explained in a paper on Middle-Class Education written in 1866 for the Schools Inquiry Commissioners. Speaking of this particular class of children, she says: "The parents of these children especially need help: they are willing to pay moderately, as they do not like sending their children to charity schools; and I think this is a good feeling, and one to be encouraged. The gentry and the clergy do not often help this class, they are occupied with the really poor; besides that, in this class there are many Dissenters, and they are, as a whole, very independent about their children, and not popular, for which there may be some reason. They have neither time nor knowledge enough themselves to set up schools for their sons, much less for their daughters, so it frequently happens that their whole families are neglected or ill-

taught. It was the pathetic appeal of the mother of a large family that induced me to try what I could do for this class of children; and though there were many difficulties and some prejudices to be overcome, yet in the end a measure of success was attained which was satisfactory, and when I was unable to continue the school, some of the parents took it up, and it is still going on under other management."

This undertaking was not only an important element in her life at this time, it had also great influence upon her after career. For she acquired by means of it a knowledge of the practical difficulties of school management and of the needs and capacities of the children; and through her acquaintance with many of the parents she learned to understand their point of view and their difficulties also, all of which was of great value to her afterwards. And this experience no doubt set her mind to work on the question how middle-class education could be helped and improved, and suggested to her possible changes, some of which she afterwards brought forward and helped to carry out.

There were, no doubt, as she said, difficulties and prejudices to overcome. Some of these difficulties were perhaps referred to in an article of hers on girls' schools which appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine* for October 1866, and which I shall have to speak of later.

After speaking of the difficulties of parents, she says: "The position of the teachers, too, is often very painful. They are poor themselves, struggling for subsistence—the parents are economical, and there is constant haggling between the two. The schools are often small, and this increases the difficulty. The children being of various

ages, the labour of bringing them forward, even in a few simple subjects, is excessive. There may be, perhaps, some twelve or twenty children, from the ages of six to sixteen—two teachers, at most; and the parents meanwhile objecting to much expense with regard to books, and therefore compelling cheap and small compendiums to be used."

Though she was not quite in the position of the unfortunate teachers here described, she had difficulties with the parents sometimes; and she has told me how, occasionally, some of them would come and scold her and rate her, and how she learned not to mind it, and even to be amused. This attitude was only one instance of her tolerance of people's faults and failings, and her perception of the circumstances which helped to produce them, and, too, of that sense of humour in her which made them easier to bear.

The school may perhaps have paid its expenses, but it can never have done more while she had it. There were latterly from twenty to thirty children—a few boys among them. The fees were thirty shillings a quarter; and she had from the first the help of one or two masters, and, at the end, of two resident English teachers. She herself taught in the school constantly. One of her subjects was geography; and one of the ladies who taught for her, Miss Wilkinson (now Mrs. Ratcliffe), tells me that she used herself to like to listen to these lessons, for Miss Clough made them so interesting by telling the children about all the places she had been to herself.

This is quite intelligible to anyone who at any time heard her talk about her travels; for, whether it was Cornish rocks or Dutch towns that she described, her vivid

recollection, and the amusement and interest which she got out of every detail, made it impossible not to catch some of her feeling.

She can hardly have been a good teacher, according to modern standards; for one thing, though she had worked hard and read considerably, her education had been fragmentary and unsystematic, and she had little knowledge which could be called thorough. Then, too, her mind was not intellectually trained (perhaps it never could have taken that kind of training), and she could never have been methodical. But she was so deeply interested in her pupils, and often in what she was teaching them, that she could not help communicating herself and her ideas to them in the course of her lessons.

Mrs. Fleming, formerly Miss Healey, who succeeded Miss Clough in the management of the school, after helping her in the teaching for rather more than a year, has kindly given me some of her recollections of the school and of Miss Clough, when she was at work there.

Mrs. Fleming writes: "It was in 1861 that I first came to Ambleside to help Miss Clough in her school. There were then about twenty day-scholars and two or three boarders, the children chiefly of well-to-do shop- and hotel-keepers, though some were from the families of professional men; they were from six to sixteen years of age, the little boys remaining till about ten or eleven. Miss Clough apparently took personal interest in each of them, and was evidently regarded as a much-respected friend. Was it due to the northern character or to Miss Clough's influence, that they, to me at least, seemed a most lovable set of children?

"For the first three months of my time she was usually

in the schoolroom most of the morning" (Mrs. Fleming came to Ambleside after Mrs. Clough's death), "and taught the usual English subjects, handing over to me the arithmetic (she once confessed to me that cancelling was an utter mystery to her) and English grammar and analysis, asking me to give class-lessons in general information, simple science, etc., in the more modern way in which I had been trained.

"The only extra subjects taught were French and music, for which there were masters. Her own method was for the children to prepare so many pages of English history (Mrs. Markham), geography (*Child's Guide*), and to be questioned on them by her next day, and, where the subject allowed it, to be guided in reading further from their text-books. Occasionally, when she could not make them understand some question in physical geography (winds, for example), she would openly turn to me and ask if I could make the matter plain in a special object or natural science lesson. I could not actually attend to her lessons, as I was always teaching another class at the same time; but I have often noticed the close interest with which the girls, sitting round her in a half-circle, listened to her description of other lands and people, seen during her holiday excursions.

"It was in this way, and by reading to them, that she brought her own cultured mind to bear upon them, and won their love and respect. Then, too, many of them from time to time stayed to midday dinner, especially in wet weather, Eller How being some considerable distance uphill, and then her gracious, gentle dignity was itself an education, and she found time to inquire after dogs and dolls with profoundest sympathy. Judged by modern

methods, there was in the school a lack of order and discipline. The children were not punctual, and the girls in the afternoon prepared for next day, sitting just where they liked, and as they liked: the schoolroom at the time was a perfect Babel—girls, two and two, in all possible places and attitudes;—but none of them at their own desks where their books were kept, and all tongues going at once. Then, too, there was, as far as I know, no general time-table; I had my own on a little slip of paper, and each girl had hers, all being written out separately by Miss Clough herself.

"When she was away in Italy on account of her brother's illness, I had charge of the school, with authority to make what changes I liked, especially with regard to order. It was then that the girls acquired the habit, before her return, of quiet work in the afternoon; and this she immediately noticed and acknowledged in her own gracious way, asking me henceforth to take the discipline of the school under my charge, adding, 'If I transgress, you must call me to order.'"

Miss Clough's curious plan of writing out a time-table for each individual, which Mrs. Fleming tells of, is a very characteristic touch. She was extraordinarily wanting in method; but she unravelled many problems of organisation successfully, by means of her ingenuity, her memory, and her persistence, and by an almost reckless expenditure of her own time and trouble.

One of her old pupils tells me that general principles and general information entered very much into her teaching, and that she stimulated the children, and gave them interests. This pupil told me also that when Miss Clough had to go away and leave the school for a time, she wrote

a letter to the children, urging them above all to be kind to each other. Another former pupil, Miss Isabella Nicholson, sends me the following recollections:—

"I was terribly frightened when I, a timid, shy little girl, was first ushered into the schoolroom at Eller How, and led forward to be introduced to its tall, stately mistress, and the first glance I ventured to steal at her did not greatly reassure me; the dark eyes were keen and searching, and the mouth, I thought, looked severe, and her hair, too, was strange, silvery-white in front and surmounted by a coronal of heavy black plaits. But my doubts and fear were speedily laid to rest as a soft hand drew me nearer, my curls were pushed back from my face, and I saw the bright eyes soften as they met mine, and the lips parted in a smile, and the gentle caress and low-spoken welcome completed my capture and contentment. Of course I did not know then that I had fallen in love with my new preceptress, but I know that during the time I was her pupil, I would have endured any other kind of pain rather than that of incurring her displeasure, and taken any kind of trouble to win her approval. Censure or praise were but briefly expressed, but were none the less bitter or sweet to the children who loved her. A flash of the dark eyes, the deep, half-appealing tone of remonstrance, 'Do not be so naughty,' 'Do pay more attention, dear,' were generally sufficient to quell the rebellious, and the kindly glance, the little pat on the arm, and the accent of joy that sounded in her praise, 'You have been very industrious,' 'You have done this very nicely,' raised some of us at least into the seventh heaven for the day. I cannot tell if all her pupils felt the same degree of reverence for her, but I am sure we were all more or less influenced by

the benign presence in our midst. No matter how noisy and unruly we might be with the other teachers, the moment the door of communication with the house opened, quietness fell upon us like a mantle. She generally stood for a few moments upon the threshold, looking down upon her children, and every girl who met her glance must have felt that she was specially singled out and individually observed.

"I wonder if any band of girls ever studied in a prettier environment, than we in our cosy schoolroom at Eller How. One window looked out upon the Stock Ghyll wood, and there were two or three trees which almost touched the glass. The other looked straight on to the beautiful lake and the green slopes and hills beyond. Miss Clough herself never forgot these windows. . . . Our education was of the heart, as well as of the mind. Miss Clough never preached and seldom lectured, but she lived her religion, which was nothing if not practical. Young as I was at the time, I cannot fail, on looking back, to recognise that her one steady aim was to put us in the way of becoming useful, helpful women, able and willing when the time came to take up our share of work in the world, and to serve each other for the good of all. Nor was our bodily health ever neglected; indeed, we were inclined to think she was too fidgety as to getting our feet wet, our clothes damp, etc. We practised calisthenics every day, and we had a romp in the garden when the weather permitted. . . . How well I remember the day when, after her sad journey to Italy [at her brother's death], she stood again among us and counted up her children. Gravely, but very lovingly, she called us up to her one by one, and presented us with a little souvenir from the strange land

we read about in our histories, and drew maps of from memory."

Miss Emily Davies has kindly sent me a letter which Miss Clough wrote to her in 1864, two years after she gave up the school. In the course of it she says: "I often wished that some direct instruction, in the form perhaps of lectures, could have been given to my elder girls on the uses and abuses of learning, the duties of life, family arrangements, the advantages of combination, etc. I constantly felt while I had my school that it was badly done, and that I was not preparing the girls sufficiently for life. I suppose we must all expect to work rather in the dark. . . . I always tried to get a good deal of arithmetic taught, and that the children should acquire facility in writing and composing. . . . I think the school was useful in bringing the children together and making them friendly. . . . The parents took much interest in the success of the school, and I have heard that several of the children have been useful to the parents in their business."

The school and the individual children were not only a great interest and pleasure to Miss Clough, they were her chief solace and support during what was evidently a trying period of her life. Her mother's long illness in the first place was exceedingly distressing to her, and must latterly have been a great strain upon her health. She told me once that she owed much at this time to the friend who lived with her, for sometimes, when things seemed more than she could bear, Miss Crofton braced her with wholesome severity, and compelled her to keep up her courage and go forward. She seems to have suffered much from loneliness, and, in spite of her love for the

country, this life on a remote hill-top was too narrow and cramped for a person of her temperament. She was now well over thirty, she was full of aspirations and of pent-up energy, and it is clear from some of her brother's letters that she had for years ardently longed for greater scope for her activities, for the opportunity of giving practical shape to the ideas which were always seething in her mind. Long after this, in speaking of the many new openings for women, she referred more than once to the women who in earlier years had longed for these opportunities and suffered for want of them. Some of them, she said, had been stirred by the awakening of thought around them, by the new interest in social reform; "they grew restless, they were like caged birds, with their strong passions intensified by the want of action," and it was evident that these things were made vivid to her by her own experience. It is quite possible that it was only during part of her stay at Ambleside that Miss Clough felt her life hard and dreary; but it is certain that, in spite of many friends to whom she was warmly attached, and of other pleasant things, she looked back upon this time as one of much painful experience. She was very reserved, and did not talk either of her thoughts and aspirations or of her troubles, but her friend, Miss Claude, said to me that "her dark eyes made you feel that there was a great deal behind," and, even before her mother's illness, one or two other friends perceived that she was not happy.

Those who knew Miss Clough at this time speak, as those who knew her at all times of her life were apt to do, first of all, and above all, of her kindness. This quality is usually mentioned when there is nothing else to say for a person, but in her case it comes first,

because her kindness attracted the attention of everyone who came into contact with her: it was so obvious that it seemed the most remarkable part of her character. Other qualities, which were not unimportant, were curiously hidden away, and only gradually discovered by close observation.

She was not merely passively amiable or good-natured, she took a keen, active interest in the welfare of everyone she was thrown with, and often thought about their affairs and the possibilities of their lives more than they did themselves.

She showed this interest at Ambleside, not only in her pupils, but in their families, and in her teachers and her neighbours. I am told that she used to give parties every now and then for those who lived near in the cottages on the hill, and that when she went away she used to bring back appropriate presents for each of the children.

She could hardly walk through a place, much less live in it, without thinking of its needs and of possible practical improvements, and therefore, as soon as she had any money to spare, she had plenty of uses ready for it. Shortly before Mrs. Clough's death, her only brother, William Perfect, died, and left her a considerable sum of money, and therefore, when Mrs. Clough herself died, Miss Clough found herself in possession of a larger income than was required to provide for her own needs. This enabled her to carry out various undertakings which she had at heart, and among other things to set going one notable piece of work in Ambleside. There was there a free school for boys, built and endowed by the will of John Kelsick in 1723, but the building, when Miss Clough was at Ambleside, had become dilapidated, and was much too small for

the number of boys who attended it. In the autumn of 1860 Miss Clough consulted her friend Mr. Graves, and in consequence he wrote a letter to the trustees of the Kelsick School which began with the following statement:—"A lady, who feels an interest in the progress of education in Ambleside, has for some time back been painfully impressed with the inadequate size and deficient ventilation of the free school at Ambleside, evils which she is convinced are seriously injurious to the health of both master and scholars, and to which no remedy is applicable short of a new schoolhouse." The letter then went on to say that this lady offered £200, if the trustees could arrange to erect a suitable new building. The offer was accepted, and after the usual necessary delays, a new school was built. Miss Clough took a keen interest in the building, and when the plans were being discussed, she, after consultation with the schoolmaster, Mr. Barton, pressed certain alterations on the trustees, and offered an additional £20 to meet the increased cost—her friend, Miss Claude, supporting her with a further subscription.

It is worth mentioning that the building of this new school was made the occasion for using a sum of money, subscribed in memory of Wordsworth, to build a small library, dedicated to him, under the same roof with the school.

This was one successful undertaking, but, as one of her friends in the village told me, she helped many in Ambleside privately.

In describing her at this time, her friends say that she had a low voice, and usually a gentle, rather hesitating manner. She seems to have been still awkward, and wanting in facility in talk and intercourse; and I am told

that she was not so tall and dignified as her mother ("Mrs. Clough had more bearing"), nor so handsome as Mrs. Clough was even at this time.

Her manner sometimes gave an idea of weakness and indecision, which was entirely misleading. She had already for some time been the ruling spirit of the house, and though her mother was not old[1] when they went to Ambleside, it was Anne who decided on the move, and who chose the place to come to. Mrs. Clough described her as "always a wilful girl," and an old friend and former servant, who lived with the Cloughs during all their time at Ambleside, said to me, "Miss Clough must always have her way, but it was a good way." Both then and later it was remarked of her, that she often asked for other people's opinions, but she always followed her own.

Mrs. Clough died in the summer of 1860. Miss Clough went to her relations and then abroad for a rest, but she returned to work at the school, apparently with no intention of giving it up, and with her head full of schemes for the benefit of the place.

But all her plans were changed by the death of her brother Arthur in the autumn of the next year, 1861. He had been out of health for some time, and had been obliged to leave his work and spend the greater part of that year abroad. In October he became seriously ill while travelling with his wife in Italy, and early in November Miss Clough was summoned to Florence, where she arrived three days before his death.

It is hardly necessary to add anything to what has been already said as to Miss Clough's affection for her brother, and the place which he had filled in her life. She

[1] Mrs. Clough was born in 1796.

wrote to a friend a few weeks after his death that it was "the closing in of my most cherished hopes, which were born in the early dawn of my life, and which I have fed upon ever since. I have waited listening for him to speak, to utter thoughts that he had been pondering over during his life,—but not idly, for his life, his work in life, has been the beautiful expression of his thoughts, and surely they have borne fruit. . . . And though the grave has closed upon him so early, yet do I believe that in secret, unknown places the foundation-stones of much that is wise and good are still left standing that he has laid, and let us hope that some of his friends, some that knew him and loved him, may yet build up some goodly structures thereon. So do I hope, . . . and there is yet some joy left for me in life, something I may still seek to attain."

This shock, following on years of work and trouble, which had tried her very much, shook Miss Clough's health considerably, and doctors and friends urged her to give up her school. She agreed to do this, but with many regrets.

She wrote in December 1861 to one of her aunts: "I hope to visit Llwyn Offa [her brother Charles's house near Chester] on my way home, but I don't feel very strong, and the thought that I shall probably have to give up my beloved school before long rather upsets me. I never did like moving, and ten years have created many ties, but I quite think it will be for the best. Dr. Wilson says I had better lead a quiet life, and not over-exert myself mentally for a while, and it seems to me I should be unwise not to follow his advice."

Accordingly, she decided to give up the school and her Ambleside house, and to come to the south of England to be with her sister-in-law.

Mrs. Arthur Clough had gone to live for the present chiefly with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Smith, at their house, Combe Hurst, near Kingston-on-Thames. Mr. and Mrs. Smith pressed Miss Clough to make her home there too, and she was glad to accept their offer to be with her sister-in-law and her children. But she was of course obliged to go back first to Ambleside and arrange matters there.

She was most anxious that the school should go on, for she believed that it was of great value to the place, but in order to bring this about it was necessary that some arrangement should be made which the parents would approve and support. Mr. Graves, who was most kind in helping her, had met and consulted the parents before her return, and she herself saw and talked with them as soon as she got back. It was finally agreed that Mrs. Fleming should take the management of the school, and, in order to provide the necessary capital, Miss Clough proposed that the parents should subscribe small sums of £10 or £15 each, to be gradually repaid out of the fees. The scheme, which seems like a hint of the modern plan of local shareholders in the Girls' Public Day School Company, was carried out, but it has to be confessed that it was not found a convenient one, and after two years it was changed for something simpler. Mrs. Fleming tells me that when Miss Clough found some other plan was really necessary, she cheerfully undertook to manage it all, and went herself to each of the parents to explain matters and return the sums lent.

It is an interesting fact that this school still exists, and, after going through a period in which it was almost entirely a boarding school, is now again chiefly a day school

for Ambleside. It remained in Mrs. Fleming's hands till she gave it up in 1894.

Miss Clough remained at Ambleside for three months, and carried on the school till the new arrangements were completed. Then, in April 1862, she gave up her house, and left Ambleside for Combe Hurst.

CHAPTER V

LIFE AT COMBE HURST—EDUCATIONAL WORK IN THE NORTH—1862-1871

From this time till she went to Cambridge in 1871, Miss Clough had no separate home of her own, and for the first four years she undertook no definite occupation. She was for several months in the year at Combe Hurst, and for some months at Mrs. Arthur Clough's house in London; the rest of the year was spent with other relatives and friends in different parts of the country.

Combe Hurst was a pleasant house, pleasantly placed in Combe Wood, and not far from Richmond Park and Wimbledon Common. Miss Clough found many friends here. She and her sister-in-law had naturally been drawn very closely together by her brother's death, and with her Miss Clough was from this time on the intimate and affectionate terms of a sister. Mrs. Clough's sisters and brother were much at Combe Hurst, and Miss Clough became intimate both with them and with their cousins, the Bonham Carters. She stayed frequently with Mrs. Bonham Carter at her house in Kent, and found congenial friends in the three Miss Bonham Carters who were then living at home. Combe Hurst was so near London that friends came often from there, and some interesting people among them. Miss Clough's diary mentions, among others, Dr. Temple (now Archbishop of Canterbury), Dr.

Jowett (afterwards Master of Balliol), Mr. W. R. Greg, and Mr. J. A. Symonds.

The months spent in London gave her still further opportunities of seeing people and hearing anything of interest that was being talked of, and gave her also the chance of seeing pictures, which was always one of her greatest pleasures. It was a different life from any she had hitherto led, and was in particular a great change from her laborious and secluded years at Ambleside.

There were plenty of intervals in which she stayed quietly at Combe Hurst with Mr. and Mrs. Smith and their family, and she was not unfrequently alone there with her nephews and nieces. The idea that she could help in the care and education of the children was no doubt one of the reasons which led her to make her home with Mrs. Arthur Clough. She would perhaps hardly have thought it right to accept Mr. and Mrs. Smith's invitation if she had not felt that she could be of use in this way, and she did, as a fact, give a great deal of help. I find in her diary many entries such as, "Walked with the children," "Went with the children to their French class," and at one time she taught them regularly. A great deal of her time was spent on her friends, both old and new. The way in which she kept hold of old friends was very remarkable, and the freshness and strength of her interest in all that concerned them. One striking instance of this was her long-continued intercourse with her Charleston friend, Mrs. Bacot. They parted in 1836, when the Cloughs left Charleston, but they corresponded without any long interval till Miss Clough's death in 1892. There were a large number of people at Ambleside in whom she was keenly interested; and behind them,

as it were, there were her Liverpool friends, and then again her relations in Wales and elsewhere. For many years she went every year to Ambleside for some weeks, and visited all her old friends and the school, and had her old pupils to tea, and interested herself in all that was going on. One of her old pupils tells me that when, some years after Miss Clough left Ambleside, it was thought well for her to go to school away from home, it was Miss Clough who was consulted, and who chose the school at Liverpool to which she went.

She made these visits to Ambleside an occasion for organising expeditions in that country, and getting some of her Liverpool friends and some of her old pupils to join her. So, too, now that London was easily accessible to her, she invited her friends from a distance to come to her there, and was most zealous and energetic in taking them to everything of interest. Her two remaining aunts, the Miss Cloughs, were now living at Bournemouth, and she went to them every year, and at least once a year she went to her brother Charles and his wife. They had now a large family, in whom she was naturally much interested, and she made herself useful to them whenever she could. At one time she would take some of the children to the sea, and at another have one or two of them with her at the Lakes; and she helped as far as possible in the matter of their education.

One friend who was a great deal in her mind was Mrs. Migault, her chief intimate in her Liverpool days. She married just before the Cloughs left Liverpool, and was now living in Germany with her husband and children, but she still looked constantly to Miss Clough for sympathy and for help whenever difficulties arose. Miss

Clough went to see her at intervals until Mrs. Migault's death, always making this visit the first step in the occasional expeditions abroad which were among her greatest pleasures. Another friend whom she watched over at this time, and for many years, was Miss Crofton, who had lived with her and her mother at Ambleside. Miss Clough now persuaded her to come and live near Combe Hurst, where she could constantly see her and care for her, and when, ten years later, she found herself permanently settled at Cambridge, she brought her old friend there too, and kept her with her till Miss Crofton's death.

Miss Alice Bonham Carter tells me that at this time Miss Clough used to take but little part in general conversation, and kept rather in the background, but that there was a serenity in her manner and a suggestion of power about her which impressed people. Mr. Symonds remarked of her about this time that it was difficult to talk to her, because she usually seemed to slip out of the conversation, but that if the talk turned on educational matters, it was at once clear that she was on her own ground.

But in spite of friends and family and other interests, this was not an entirely satisfactory time to Miss Clough, though it was a much-needed rest, and she herself said afterwards that it had been a good thing for her to lie fallow for a time. Her presence was welcome and valued where she was, but she could not feel that there was any real need of her. The children had, after all, plenty of people to look after them, and there was not much to be done for them then.

Her mind was possessed by the consciousness that much needed doing in the world, and that many things could be done. Her thoughts were always busy with

schemes, many of them quite unambitious schemes of practical usefulness; and it was difficult for her to repress her eager longing to be at work upon some of them, and to be content with comparative idleness after so many years of incessant activity. Among those of her friends who sympathised warmly with her wishes and hopes was Mrs. Samuel Smith, who was always ready to enter into ideas and aims of a higher or wider range than those of ordinary people. Mrs. Smith was for many years the close friend and constant supporter of her niece, Florence Nightingale, and had gone out to Scutari to be with her during the last year of the war. Miss Clough recalled this long after, when speaking at Newnham of all that had been done by the women of an older generation, and added that in later times "this noble lady" had also encouraged those who were working for the advancement of education, and "had bid them go on and not be afraid."

Though her schemes were not all educational, and she was ready to turn her hand to other things if opportunity offered, education in one form or another was what she had most at heart, and it was to education that she looked for the remedy for many evils. In these years of comparative leisure she had time to think much about the matter and to add to her information, and she had the opportunity of meeting others who were interested in it and had made a study of the question. Among these were Miss Emily Davies and Miss Bostock, who were at this time actively at work on schemes for the improvement of the education of girls in the upper and middle classes. Miss Clough also became acquainted at this time with Madame Bodichon, a niece of Mr. Samuel Smith, and one of the first—perhaps the very first—to bring forward the

scheme for a women's college, which was already being discussed. Before long, also, she came to know Miss Buss, and she visited and warmly admired her school, already a large and successful one. Miss Clough's work at Ambleside had turned her attention particularly to the educational needs of the middle classes, and had suggested many ideas to her, and her experience there gave her views weight with those who were interested in this particular branch of the question.

The movement for obtaining improved education for girls had now been in progress for some years, and important steps had already been taken. Queen's College was founded by the Governesses' Benevolent Institution in 1848, with the help of F. D. Maurice (who became its first Principal) and of other professors of King's College, and received a Royal Charter of Incorporation; and in 1849 Bedford College was founded by Mrs. Reid and Miss Bostock. Miss Buss's school, which introduced a wholly new standard for the education of girls, was opened in 1850; Cheltenham College was founded in 1853, and after 1858, when Miss Beale became Principal, grew rapidly in size, and acquired a position of much importance.

In 1856 Miss Jessie Meriton White had applied to the University of London for permission to present herself as a candidate for a medical diploma, but the Senate had then replied that they had not power to grant her request. In 1862 Miss Elizabeth Garrett applied to be admitted to the matriculation examination, and was refused on the same grounds. Miss Garrett's father, Mr. Newson Garrett, then presented a memorial to the Senate, asking that a modification might be introduced into the Charter of the University which would remove the legal objection to the

admission of women to its privileges; but after consideration, the Senate refused this request also, though the motion in favour of it was lost only by the casting vote of the Chancellor, Lord Granville.

The interest aroused by this effort led to the formation of a London committee, of which Miss Emily Davies was a leading member, which had as its object to obtain the admission of women to University examinations.

Cambridge University had, in 1858, instituted local examinations for boys, and in 1863 the London committee applied to the Syndicate in charge of these examinations to allow girls to be examined on the papers set for the boys. The Syndicate agreed to provide the papers and to permit the committee to arrange with the examiners. The experiment was successfully carried out, with the cordial co-operation of the University examiners, and in 1864 a largely-signed memorial was sent to the Senate of Cambridge University, asking that the system of local examinations for boys might be opened to girls. In 1865 the Senate agreed that this should be done for a period of three years, and at the end of that time the arrangement was made permanent. The opening to girls of a reliable examination of high character was of the greatest possible value, and had a most beneficial effect upon girls' education generally; and the connection thus established with Cambridge University was the first step in a path which led to results of great importance.

Miss Davies' work in connection with these examinations brought her into communication with a number of schoolmistresses in London, and it was at her suggestion and with her help that a society of schoolmistresses was formed in London early in 1866. Miss Clough was present

at a meeting held a few months later, at which this Society took formal shape as the London Schoolmistresses' Association. The example thus set was soon followed by Manchester and other towns, and Miss Clough shortly afterwards organised a similar association at Liverpool. These organisations proved valuable and accomplished much useful work. Miss Clough afterwards wrote of them as follows:—"At their meetings the mistresses planned and took counsel together and gave mutual help. They learned to combine; they were no longer alone, each in her own small sphere, which had been dull and monotonous; they were now becoming part of a system, and were gathering strength. . . . Their union has certainly given them strength and dignity, and their life has been altered by it. The fact that the University of Cambridge had shown an interest in girls' education by admitting girls to the local examinations was a great boon to them; it was a bond of union, and it was something to work for."

In 1864 a Royal Commission, known as the Schools Inquiry Commission, was issued for inquiring into the education of schools not included in former commissions, and also for considering and reporting what measures, if any, were required for the improvement of such education, having especial regard to all endowments applicable, or which could rightly be made applicable, thereto. Miss Davies and Miss Bostock together drew up and circulated a memorial to the Commissioners, asking that the education of girls might be included in the scope of their inquiry. The memorial was signed by a large number of persons connected with, or interested in, the education of girls of the upper and middle classes, and by Miss Clough among others. The Commissioners decided that they had the

necessary powers, and agreed to comply with the request of the memorialists.

It is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of the point thus gained. The reports of the Assistant Commissioners threw a flood of light upon the unsatisfactory condition of girls' education, and the Commission in their general report spoke emphatically of the gravity of the question, and set forth the need of reforms. They further laid down the principle of the full participation of girls in educational endowments, and they expressed their cordial approval of the aims of those who were endeavouring to provide opportunities of higher education for women. After the publication of the Report in 1869, those who desired reforms in women's education could work with the weight of authority behind them, and could point to the facts brought out by the Commission, and to the opinions expressed concerning them by undeniably competent judges, as plain proofs of the need of reform.

Miss Clough was keenly interested in the work of the Commission, and early in 1866 she wrote and sent to the Commissioners a paper, which gave her personal experience of the inefficiency of middle-class girls' schools, and suggested remedies. In October, the substance of this paper was published in *Macmillan's Magazine* under the title of "Hints on the Organisation of Girls' Schools."

A considerable part of this article is concerned with schemes which were never carried out, and were superseded by other plans for attaining the same end, but it contains some suggestions which led to important results, and it sets forth certain considerations which appealed particularly to Miss Clough, and which influenced much of her educational work. For these reasons, though I have already quoted

from it in describing her life at Ambleside (p. 87), I give here further extracts of some length.

It begins by describing the existing state of things.

"In our large towns the majority of the tradespeople and respectable families, with incomes varying from £100 to £300 a year, prefer sending their children to day-schools; but it is most difficult for them to find any such schools that are really good. They are generally kept by a very inferior class of people, though no doubt there are many noble exceptions. There is, moreover, no standard set up for such schools, and the parents have no means of testing the capabilities of the teachers."

Then follows the passage already quoted as to the difficulties of the teachers and managers of schools. She continues: "A few dry facts are taught, but the life and spirit are too often left out, and there is a monotony in girls' education which is very dulling to the intellect. The requirements in these schools are a little French and music, reading, writing, and arithmetic, geography, grammar, and history, but these are seldom taught thoroughly or in a way to excite much interest, usually not so well as in the national schools, and the minds of the pupils are frequently left idle and without discipline. Though girls are generally employed for longer hours than boys, yet habits of close attention and accuracy are seldom acquired."

Again, as to a higher class of schools: "In these the same defect is usually found—they are too small; the same difficulties arise—each class must consist of a very few girls, and a great many classes lead to a loss of power. A superior teacher being engaged for two or three pupils, the expense is excessive; the teacher is less earnest and energetic with his small class than he would be with a

large one; and there is less chance that there should be one or two intelligent pupils, who, by entering into his mind and profiting by his instructions, might give him increasing power, as sympathy always does. . . . We are very ready to allow that these establishments are often excellent, but they are so expensive that it is impossible for parents with moderate means to make much use of them, and it is most difficult to conduct them economically." As to education under governesses at home: "This may be very good, and, no doubt, often is so, especially when the help of good masters is added, which, of course, renders it very expensive. But, in a general way, when the pupils are solely taught by even a first-class governess, education becomes, as girls grow older, exceedingly wearisome. There is the same objection that one individual is engaged to instruct children of different ages in a great many subjects. There are fewer appliances for study and more distractions than at school: there is a want of the excitement and interest created by companions and variety of teachers, joined to the deficiency of system, for among governesses many begin without much experience; nor are they in a good position for gaining it, since they have no opportunity for comparing themselves with other teachers, and thus obtaining useful hints."

As to more advanced work, she remarks: "As yet but few public institutions have been established where women could pursue higher studies under good guidance. The Ladies' Colleges in London and Cheltenham are opening out a path in this direction, but their means are limited, and it is difficult, indeed nearly impossible, to produce any great results without a considerable outlay."

The following remedies are proposed:—First, that an

educational board, partly composed of members of the Universities, should be appointed by Government to supervise female education. Secondly, that central day schools, with good buildings, should be set up in each town or district, and that private schools should be invited to combine with the central schools for classes in certain subjects, and to take advantage of their libraries, playgrounds, etc., thus making it possible to get well-paid and efficient teachers, and other advantages, while variety of methods, and the individual attention and personal influence of a small school is retained. Finally, that in large towns, a series of lectures on higher subjects should be given to the older pupils of a number of schools.

As to this last proposal the article continues—"In large towns some twenty or twenty-five lectures might, in the course of three months, be delivered by one professor to a number of schools, collected in groups according to situation. The duration of these lectures might, at first, be limited to a period of three months in the year—this by way of experiment, and as a means of creating a taste for higher studies and collective instruction. These lectures would be for older pupils. . . . A system of this kind would be an immense help to teachers, and an enlivenment to pupils. It would be the means of bringing both the teachers and the taught under the influence of superior men, who would probably be led to take a greater interest in female education with such increased opportunities of knowing something about it, and using their influence in directing it. Some intercourse with University men, who carry on the highest education in the country, would be a great boon to many teachers who are doing their best under great difficulties. In carrying out our

plan, the sanction and help of a high authority would be especially valuable, whether Government or the Universities. In default of these we must come to an association or proprietary body, or else to a municipality; but, in any case, some recognition from those who rule, whether in the country or at the Universities, would greatly facilitate the success of all endeavours to get the services of superior men. The undertaking of such work might be felt a condescension on the part of highly-educated men, unless it could be, in some way, connected with Government or the Universities.

"We will venture a step further, and suggest that, if these preliminary lectures should succeed and become popular, they might be extended. The range of subjects now taught in the Ladies' Colleges could be enlarged, and lectures and instruction of a higher and more advanced character might be given, thus offering to the thoughtful of riper years, who had made good use of their early training, an opportunity of continuing their studies. We believe many who are now deterred from such pursuits by the want of guidance and companionship, would gladly avail themselves of advantages of this description.

"Not improbably, as years go on, many new paths of useful occupation may be opened to women; even now there are some who have cause to lament their want of training, and find it a hindrance in what they undertake.

"If these suggestions should be carried out, the present race of teachers would not be driven from the field, but, on the contrary, be assisted; and many who, though gifted with superior refinement and cultivation, are wanting in educational training, would be enabled conscientiously to take a part in these institutions. As superintendents and

managers of details, ladies of this class would be eminently valuable. Most important, indeed, would their position be, for, on the efficient fulfilment of its duties, fully as much as on the learning and high character of the teachers, the success of these undertakings would depend."

It is interesting to notice, in connection with Miss Clough's later work, that already in this paper she expresses the hope that female education may come under the direction of the Universities, and the desire to get a chance for more advanced study for elder women. She clearly refers to her own feelings and her own experience when she writes: "Even now there are some who have cause to lament their want of training, and find it a hindrance in what they undertake." The article shows also a desire to prevent monotony, and to make the teaching interesting both to teacher and pupils, and a wish to make use, as far as possible, of institutions and individuals already at work, which are both characteristic of her aims and methods.

By this time Miss Clough had clearly made up her mind to try and find some active occupation, and in the autumn of 1866, after this article had appeared, she determined to see what she could herself do to get some of her plans carried out. She decided to go to Liverpool, for, as she said, she had a general acquaintance with the place, and knew to whom to apply; and she provided herself with letters of introduction to some of the principal inhabitants, who, she hoped, would take up her suggestions.

Her first idea was to form an association of managers of schools and others, and she drew up a scheme for this. This association was to arrange for classes taught by

better paid teachers, lectures for older pupils in schools and ladies from private families, lectures on teaching, drilling classes, and a library for the associated schools. But she evidently found that the only part of this for which there was any hope at present, was the plan of lectures for the elder schoolgirls and others, and accordingly she set to work on that.

Among her letters of introduction was one to Mrs. Josephine Butler, who was then living in Liverpool, Mr. Butler being at that time Principal of Liverpool College, and she, Miss Clough said, "at once gave me sympathy and encouragement." There were others who were interested in the proposal, and ready to take trouble, and a small committee was formed, with Miss Clough as secretary.

She spent two anxious and laborious months in Liverpool, visiting people who might be interested, and trying to arrange that a course of lectures should be given there that winter by someone from one of the Universities. But in the end the plan had to be dropped for a time, and, as she wrote, she "went away to the south discouraged."

But the efforts which she and others had made in Liverpool had made her ideas known, and had attracted the attention of some whose help was likely to be valuable. Among these was Miss Wolstenholme (now Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy), the Principal of a girls' school in Manchester, and a leading member of the Schoolmistresses' Association, which had been started there shortly before.

At the end of January 1867, Miss Clough attended a meeting of the London Schoolmistresses' Association, by the invitation of Miss Emily Davies, and read a paper

explaining her proposals. In March, while still at Combe Hurst, she received an invitation to go to Manchester, to read a paper to the Schoolmistresses' Association there, and to meet some ladies from other northern towns. She accordingly went, and read a paper which was in substance the same as that written for the London Association. It expounded her proposal that a number of schools should combine to secure various advantages, and, in particular, to organise classes or lectures on advanced subjects, to be attended by pupils both from schools and private families. It also proposed that the schools which combined for this purpose should form an association, and that this association should elect a council, which might devise plans for improvements in education, and, if they were approved by the association, carry them out; this council to include, if possible, besides the elected members, one or two inspectors of schools, or other men of experience in education.

The Manchester Association and the ladies from Leeds and Sheffield were much interested in these suggestions, and it was decided to aim, not only at co-operation within one town, but at a combination between several towns. It was agreed, in the first place, to try to arrange for lectures in several towns the following autumn; and, in the second place, to draw up a scheme for a council to be elected by the Schoolmistresses' or Educational Associations already existing in several places, and to submit the scheme to these various societies. Both these plans were successfully carried out. Mr. James Stuart, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was induced to deliver a course of lectures on Astronomy in the four towns — Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, and Leeds, and a council, called the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Edu-

cation of Women, was formed, and met for the first time at Leeds in November 1867.

In 1873, Miss Clough wrote, for some friends, a history of the North of England Council, and in the course of it she gives the following account of the work of starting the first lectures:—

"I spent many weeks in August and September of 1867 in Liverpool, trying to make the coming lectures known. Many friends helped me, among them Miss Margaret Calder, and together we visited schoolmistresses and families, doing our best to persuade them to look favourably on our plan, but it was very uphill work, and there was plenty of discouragement. In the other towns the various promoters of the scheme were equally busy, and no doubt very anxious. At times we all felt it very difficult to believe in our work and the prospect of success; but October came and the much longed-for week.

"Our lecturer opened his courses in the four towns; the lecture-rooms were filled with interested students, many of whom worked diligently at the questions set, and there was much reading of scientific works, for our first lectures were on astronomy. The keepers of the circulating libraries had to change the character of their books, and, before the lectures were over, the existing editions of at least two scientific works were exhausted by the demands of the students. The total number of the four audiences reached five hundred and fifty. It was pleasant and encouraging to see so many diligent and interested students, and to hear how small knots of young people collected to read together, and it was apparent that the lecturer liked his work, and did it heartily."

Thus some at least of Miss Clough's suggestions were

to be given a fair trial. Her more elaborate schemes for co-operation between the schools were left untried, but she was characteristically ready to leave aside for the moment those of her plans and aims which seemed to have the least chance of being realised, and to devote herself to whatever opening was given her.

She had, besides, secured, in the adoption of her scheme of lectures, several of the advantages on which she laid stress, including some provision for girls beyond the school age, and the opportunity for interesting University men in the education of girls. And, above all, a council had been created, not, indeed, a council appointed by Government, as she had originally suggested, but still a body which included members of the Universities and educational authorities, and which could both deliberate as to possible reforms in education and do something to bring them about.

Before the new Council met in November 1867, Newcastle had joined the other four towns, and two representatives were elected by the Educational Associations of each of the five, Mrs. Butler and Miss Clough representing Liverpool, and Miss Wolstenholme being one of the representatives of Manchester. The nominated members were Mr. Butler, Mr. James Bryce, Fellow of Oriel and Assistant Commissioner for Lancashire under the Schools Inquiry Commission, Mr. J. G. Fitch, H.M. Inspector of Schools, and Mr. Thomas Markby, Fellow of Trinity Hall and Secretary of the Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate. Mrs. Butler was elected president, and Miss Clough secretary. Mr. F. W. H. Myers, who was a most active supporter of the whole enterprise, was present at the first meeting by special invitation, and frequently at later meetings.

In the rules of the Council its functions are stated to be, "to deliberate on questions affecting the improvement and extension of the education of women of the upper and middle classes, and to recommend to the several associations and societies therein represented plans for the promotion of these objects." It is remarked in the prospectus issued with the rules, that "by uniting several towns into one society, breadth and importance may, it is hoped, be given to this educational movement, and thus the Council will be in a better position for securing the services of eminent men as lecturers, and also for inviting the attention of those who are in authority or interested in education to any plans which may be proposed for its improvement."

The North of England Council only continued in existence for seven years, but during this time it accomplished results which were of value in themselves, and which formed the starting-point for enterprises of far-reaching importance. I propose to describe its work in some detail, on account of its importance both in the history of women's education, and indeed of education in general, and in the story of Miss Clough's life. The Council was in the main her creation; she took a large part in its undertakings, and contributed much to their success, and this work was not only her chief interest and occupation for some years, but it led directly to her later work at Cambridge.

One of the most important, perhaps the most important, of the Council's undertakings was the organisation of lectures to be given by University men in the associated towns. The success of this branch of work was particularly desirable, because the lectures, besides being of value in themselves, formed the chief link between the Council and

the towns. It was the desire to get help as to lectures which induced the local associations to send representatives and make an annual contribution to the Council, and it was to the number and importance of the places which it represented that the Council owed much of its weight and influence.

The first course of lectures had been arranged by the Educational Associations of the four towns before the Council could be formally constituted; but as soon as the Council met, the arrangement of future lectures was put into the hands of its executive committee.

For various reasons it was thought essential that the arrangements for the lectures should be in the hands of this central committee. It was clear that this plan would make it easier to make the best use of the lecturers who were available, and to place the educational knowledge and experience possessed by many members of the Council at the disposal of the towns, and it was hoped that in this way the Council would become a sort of bureau for the organisation of advanced education in such towns as desired it. It was felt, too, that if the organisation was carried out in this manner, it might be possible to secure system and continuity in the subjects on which lectures were given, and this point was one to which the Council attached much importance and gave much thought and attention. Various persons who could speak with authority on the subject were consulted, and advice as to the order in which different subjects should be taught was sent to the Council by the late Master of Balliol (Professor Jowett), Mr. Charles Pearson, and Professor Newman. But they were much hampered by having only a very limited number of lecturers to choose from, and also by the fact

that the local committees were obliged to choose subjects which would attract sufficient numbers to meet the necessary expenses.

The scheme could only have been carried out in its complete form, and with the system and thoroughness which the Council desired, if it had met with full support and sympathy from the local committees, but this was not to be had in sufficient measure. Each committee had its own public to satisfy, and each town had its special requirements, and it was perhaps too much to expect that the committees would fully appreciate the importance of co-operation and the value of the guidance offered by the Council, and would make great efforts to accommodate themselves to the plans which it proposed. At any rate, it was found impossible to make the plan of organisation from the centre work smoothly and give satisfaction to the local committees, and after three years of striving the Council decided to give up the attempt, and to leave each town to arrange its lectures for itself. After this time the President and Secretary acted as referees, and supplied information as to lecturers and other matters, but did not undertake the arrangements unless specially asked to do so.

Altogether twelve towns were at one time or another represented on the Council. In 1867, when the Council was first formed, there were, as has been said, lectures given by one lecturer in four towns, the following spring two lecturers divided five towns between them, and in the autumn of 1868 three lecturers took nine towns. After 1869, the number of towns which arranged their lectures under the guidance of the Council grew smaller, but a large and increasing number made arrangements for lectures

independently, and the report of the Council for 1870 tells of lectures given during the preceding winter at twenty-three centres. Glasgow, Cheltenham, and Clifton started lectures in 1868, and Birmingham and Wolverhampton followed a year or two later. The list of those who lectured for the Council, besides Mr. James Stuart, who has been already mentioned, contains the names of Professor J. W. Hales, Professor Nichol, Professor Seeley, Sir Henry Roscoe, Mr. F. W. H. Myers, Mr. Charles Pearson, and other well-known men.

The starting of the lectures roused interest and discussion concerning the education of women, and education in general, in a great number of places, and other plans were soon devised for providing it. It was found that there was a desire for teaching in many subjects which were not suited for lectures, and in several places classes were started. In towns where there were good boys' schools, the masters were induced to help; at Manchester some of the professors of Owens College held classes for women, and in 1871 the College of Science at Newcastle opened all its lectures to them.

Thus, though the hope of establishing a large scheme for the systematic organisation of local lectures by a central council had to be abandoned, what was done by the North of England Council in this particular branch of work had a great effect in stimulating educational activity over a large area, and it brought out clearly the existence of a widespread demand for more advanced education (and not among women only), and led directly to an undertaking of wider scope and more far-reaching consequences than had been originally contemplated—viz. the organisation of local lectures by the Universities.

In 1871, Mr. James Stuart brought this idea of organisation of local lectures by the Universities before the executive committee of the Council, and was asked by them to write a paper on the subject for distribution in the North of England towns, and also to give a lecture on it in each of these towns. The proposal was then discussed at the Council meeting in June 1871, and a memorial on the subject, drawn up by Mr. Stuart, was signed by the Council and sent to Mr. Gladstone. In this it was asked that if a commission should be appointed to investigate the tenure of non-resident fellowships, it should be instructed to consider what assistance the Universities could afford to higher education in large towns, and it was suggested that non-resident fellowships might be tenable on the ground of conducting higher education in these towns. The situation at that time as regards the lectures is shown in the opening sentences of this memorial, which are as follows :—

"We beg to bring before your notice the increasing desire for the opening out of the educational advantages of the Universities to those whose circumstances prevent them from being able to reside there. The notion embodied in this desire is not altogether theoretical, but has found practical expression in the system of educational lectures to ladies established four years ago, and now applied to some extent to working men. Men of standing in both Universities have given their services to the scheme. But the system, being purely voluntary, fails to guarantee that permanence of employment which it is necessary to offer in order to secure for a continuance the services of first-rate teachers; while the societies engaged in carrying out the scheme are in a perpetual state of

bankruptcy, or nearly so, from the fact that the sole provision for such lectures comes from the fees of provincial pupils. For the same reason the education thus given is in constant danger of being too much regulated by considerations of what will be attractive, while many who might otherwise be assisted are excluded by the necessity of too large a fee. Meanwhile, the demand of the various towns for courses of educational lectures continues to increase, and the necessity is felt for supplementing these courses of lectures by more frequent assistance of the nature of class teaching, which we are at present prevented from obtaining by the want of pecuniary provision."

Shortly after this, memorials were sent to the two Universities, telling of what had been done, and asking that they would consider how help could be given "to the higher education of those classes in great towns who are inevitably debarred from residence at a University." Other memorials were sent to the Universities about the same time from Rochdale, Crewe, and Leeds, and a little later from Birmingham.

Some communications passed between the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University and the various memorialists during 1872, and early in 1873 a syndicate was appointed to consider the memorials. In May of the same year the Syndicate reported that they had sent questions to the memorialists and received answers from them; that they were of opinion that a real demand for University teaching existed, and that they recommended that the Syndicate should be continued for two years, and should be given power to organise lectures and examinations if the necessary funds were guaranteed in the localities. The Senate agreed to this, and in the autumn of 1873 lectures

were organised in Derby, Nottingham, and Leicester, and in the following spring at those towns, and also at Keighley, Leeds, Halifax, and Bradford. The Syndicate reported favourably of the results, and, after another year of experimental work, a standing syndicate was appointed, and the University undertook the work permanently.

A few years later the University of Oxford undertook work of the same kind. The desire to bring University teaching within the reach of a greater number had been felt and expressed at Oxford as early as 1850, and various schemes having this end in view had been laid before the University Commission then sitting, and among them a plan for providing University teaching in large towns; but it was not till 1878 that the University undertook the organisation of local lectures. It is interesting to notice that Arthur Clough was one of those who in 1850 submitted considerations to the Commission in favour of extending the work of the Universities.

There was another matter to which the North of England Council gave its attention as soon as it met, viz. the establishment of a satisfactory examination for women over eighteen years of age. The main object was to secure an examination which would be useful as a test for teachers. Nothing which answered this purpose was then in existence, there was no means of distinguishing the competent from the incompetent, and both teachers and employers suffered from the want of it. It was hoped that a good examination might lead to better teaching both in schools and families, and also that it might help to raise the status of women-teachers, which was then very low. The position of schoolmasters, as was pointed out, had been improved lately, owing to the fact that more University

men had entered the profession. The Council soon decided, however, that to whatever body they applied, they would ask for an examination open to all women over eighteen, and not limited to teachers.

The first scheme brought forward was that of a voluntary board of examiners from the two Universities; this idea seems to have sprung from Oxford, and it was certainly warmly taken up there as well as at Cambridge. Meetings were held in London and Oxford and Cambridge to consider the proposal, and a board was formed at each University to carry it out. At both Universities the proposal was supported by a number of distinguished men. At Oxford there were, amongst others, the Rector of Lincoln (Mr. Mark Pattison), Dr. Temple, Professor Max Müller, Professor Stubbs; and at Cambridge, Professor Kennedy, Professor Kingsley, Professor Lightfoot, Professor Maurice. However, it soon appeared that so many of the resident members of the University of Cambridge were in favour of some examination of the kind, that it was reasonable to hope that the University might be induced to undertake the work formally, and the voluntary idea was abandoned.

At this point there was some difference of opinion among the promoters of the educational movement. The London Committee, of which Miss Davies was secretary, were strongly of opinion that an examination for women only would be of little value, as there would be no standard up to which it must be kept, and that much of the value to girls of the Junior and Senior Local Examinations was due to their being for boys also. London University had just received a charter empowering them to examine women, and were preparing a scheme, and those who were anxious to have the same

examinations for women as for men thought that it would be best to make use of this scheme provisionally, and not to apply to Cambridge at this point. On the other hand, there were some who did not desire identical examinations for women and men, on the ground that the existing examinations and the whole system of education for men were by no means satisfactory, and there was, in addition, a strong feeling that a connection with Cambridge was of the greatest value. It was urged that senior members of the University had come forward for the first time, and that it would be losing a great opportunity if their readiness to help women, in the one way which seemed at present to be open to them, was not taken advantage of.

The majority of the North of England Council were convinced that it was an opportunity not to be lost, and they drew up and signed a memorial, asking for an examination for women over eighteen, which was sent up to the Senate of the University. Mrs. Butler went later to Cambridge with a second memorial, signed by five hundred and fifty teachers and three hundred other ladies. Miss Clough wrote of this expedition that "the charm Mrs. Butler put into all the details she gave, showing the desire of women for help in educating themselves, made the subject, which might have been considered tedious, both interesting and attractive, and thus drew to the cause many friends." The Cambridge Senate received these memorials favourably; and a scheme of examinations was drawn up by a syndicate, after consultation with the North of England Council and others, and established provisionally for three years. At the end of that time these examinations were made permanent. Two

years later a request was made for the admission of men as well as women; this was granted, and the name was changed from Women's Examinations to Higher Local Examinations. In 1869, when they were first held, there were two centres and thirty-six candidates; in 1895 there were twenty-one centres and eight hundred and ninety-three candidates. These examinations have this much of further history, that when, in 1881, the Senate of Cambridge University formally admitted women to the Tripos Examinations, they appointed certain parts of the Higher Local Examinations to be alternative to the Previous Examination (or Little-go) as a preliminary examination for women candidates for the Tripos.

It was chiefly in consequence of the establishment of these examinations, and of the Council's work in connection with them, that another important movement sprang up, and one which was of peculiar importance to Miss Clough.

The appeal for help in this matter which had been made to Cambridge, and the presence of Cambridge men on the Council, had drawn attention to that body and to its work in organising lectures. In 1870, at the suggestion of Mr. Henry Sidgwick, and chiefly through his efforts, a scheme of lectures, intended to prepare for the Women's Examinations, was started in Cambridge. They were well attended; and, before long, women living at a distance from Cambridge showed their anxiety to make use of them. A house of residence was then opened to accommodate such students, and Miss Clough was invited to take charge of it. This house of residence eventually grew into Newnham College. I shall have to give the history of these lectures in detail when I come to tell of

Miss Clough's Cambridge life, but I mention them here on account of their connection with the North of England Council.

These two things—the organisation in the northern towns of lectures, given by University men, which led to University extension; and the establishment of an examination for women, which led to the Cambridge lectures, and so to Newnham College—were the Council's most striking achievements; but it had a hand in various other important educational enterprises.

In 1869 the Endowed Schools Bill was before Parliament, and the North of England Council, after a discussion of the question, in which Mr. Bryce, Mr. Fitch, Mr. T. H. Green, and others took part, drew up a petition to Parliament, asking that wide powers might be given to the Commissioners to provide for the establishment of public schools for girls, and to apply to their education a reasonable portion of existing endowments. They also appointed a committee to collect information as to endowments, and to make representations to the Commissioners. This committee, which consisted not only of members of the Council, but of others whom they asked to join them, met in London; but other committees (some in connection with the Council and others independent of it) were formed in a number of other places for the same purpose.

The report of 1870 gives an account of their work.

"The London Committee have endeavoured, in different parts of the country, to draw attention to the fact that the Commissioners were willing to devote a portion of the endowments to the establishment of girls' schools, and to the improvement of girls' education generally. The London Committee have made it their object to work in

those places where the Commission sent Assistant-Commissioners,—if possible, to be beforehand,—that a public feeling in favour of girls' education might be created, and some knowledge of the object of the Commission be diffused. A paper of suggestions has been largely distributed. The secretary has corresponded with many in various parts of the country, who have shown a great wish to further this object. Miss Boucherett, in Lincolnshire, has been preparing the minds of people in her neighbourhood to be ready to offer suggestions when the Commissioners came. The subject is being taken up in Bristol and Cheltenham, and in Yorkshire; the Yorkshire Board is prepared to act. In Wales, we hear that the Commissioners are willing to do something for girls, and we hope that their offer may be accepted. In Westminster, the Committee have been endeavouring to urge the community to make public expression of their sympathy with the work the Commissioners are so ready to do for girls. They are led to believe that such an expression of feeling is a valuable help."

Various matters beside those in which the Council could take an active part were discussed at its annual meetings. At the first, held in 1867, the plan of a college for women, for which Miss Davies was then endeavouring to gain support, was discussed, and much interest and sympathy were expressed; and it was recommended that members of the Council should support the scheme, by forming committees to collect funds for it in the associated towns. Another question which was discussed at this meeting was the registration of teachers. The Council expressed themselves in favour of the principle of registration; but held that it was premature to take any

practical steps, since almost no certificates or testimonials were then accessible to teachers.

In 1871 Mrs. William Grey attended the Council by invitation, and described her scheme of a National Union for promoting the education of women. The Council expressed their willingness to co-operate in this, and asked Mrs. Grey to give lectures on her proposal in the towns which they represented. The National Union was founded the same year, and two years later it started the Girls' Public Day Schools Company, and by its means the first high schools for girls.

Another scheme which came before the Council was a system of correspondence teaching, which was then a new invention, but has since become a recognised method of education. Correspondence classes, arranged with a view to the Women's Examinations, were organised at Cambridge by Mr. Henry Sidgwick and Mrs. Peile (the wife of Dr. Peile, now Master of Christ's College, Cambridge), and taught by University men. Mrs. Peile, who acted as secretary, and carried on these classes for many years, described them at a meeting of the Council as "intended to convey intellectual help of a high order to women, the conditions of whose lives isolated them from all means of obtaining such help," and she mentioned that they had been suggested to her by a lady who was herself in this position. The idea of correspondence-teaching had been hit upon and put into practice a year or two earlier (also in connection with the Women's Examinations) by Miss Arabella Shore; and when the Cambridge classes were started, Miss Shore gave Mr. Sidgwick the benefit of her experience. These Cambridge classes were perhaps the first organisation for systematic teaching by correspondence. They

eventually (in 1884) became a branch of the work carried on by Newnham College, and continued in existence till 1894, when they were given up, because the largely increased opportunities of oral teaching and the existence of many other correspondence classes made them unnecessary.

The North of England Council met in June 1874 for the ninth time, but, in the course of the next year, it became clear that its work had been taken over by various competent organisations, and that it was no longer needed. The Cambridge Syndicate was there to give help in organising lectures where it was needed; Mrs. Grey's National Union was in existence, with its offspring, the Girls' Public Day School Company; and Girton College and Newnham Hall could watch over the interests of women as to University education. Accordingly, the Council was dissolved, and the balance of its funds was presented to the Newnham Library. It is an interesting fact that the Liverpool Educational Society, which was founded in 1866, as the result of Miss Clough's exertions, and of which she was the first secretary, is still in existence in 1897. Miss Clough was succeeded as secretary by her friend and indefatigable helper, Miss Margaret Calder, to whom it is due that the Society is still alive, and that, in spite of all rival attractions, a course of lectures is still given every winter under its auspices.

The work which the North of England Council accomplished in these seven years was achieved by the efforts of a large number of people, too many to name, in different parts of the country; but prominent among them were Mrs. Butler, Miss Clough, and Miss Wolstenholme. When Miss Clough went to Liverpool to try and get some of her schemes started, Mrs. Butler's prompt sympathy and

encouragement were very valuable, and her active interest in the plans proposed led others to be interested and to help. When the Council came into existence, Mrs. Butler made an able as well as a zealous President, and while she herself took an active part in almost everything that was undertaken, she also did good service in kindling the enthusiasm of others by her eloquence and earnestness. She remained President till 1873, when she was succeeded by Miss Clough; but by attending and reading a paper at the meeting in the following year, she showed that she had not lost her interest in the Council.

Miss Wolstenholme, though, as principal of a school, she had her hands already sufficiently full of work, was incessantly engaged also on the Council business, consulting, suggesting, and negotiating about the lectures, drawing up memorials for the Women's Examination, and collecting signatures for it, and giving valuable advice as to the work of the Committee on Endowments. It was she who devised the original constitution of the Council, and she seems to have been consulted about reports and other documents issued by the Council, and is described by Mrs. Butler as being invaluable to the Council on account of her experience and her fertility of resource.

It was on Miss Clough, as secretary, that the chief burden fell of the correspondence and negotiations which were necessary for carrying on the Council's schemes. She was secretary only from 1867 till 1870, but the work during these years was particularly arduous and difficult. The task of arranging the lectures was especially laborious and troublesome. First of all, inquiries had to be made on all sides before lecturers could be found. Then, in order to make it worth the lecturer's while to come, two or three

towns must agree to take the same course, and times and subjects were often difficult to arrange. And then, as has been said, the local committees were not easy to satisfy. One town would set its heart on a subject for which no lecturer was available, another was convinced that the lecturer proposed would not be sufficiently educational, and a third suddenly discovered that University men were a great mistake, and that classes given by local teachers were the one thing needful. It was a perpetual struggle, and Mrs. Butler wrote to Miss Clough concerning the work of satisfying the committees, that "it is no easy task, and we must be content if we only manage tolerably well."

There was much work, too, involved in the appeal for an examination for women—much consultation and correspondence with friends at the Universities, and considerable anxiety and perturbation owing to the differences of opinion of which I have spoken.

Miss Clough was keenly anxious for the success of the undertaking, for which, as secretary, she was largely responsible, and worked with the most unsparing zeal, leaving nothing undone, and pressing on in the face of every discouragement. She was, indeed, perhaps too anxious, and took the difficulties with the towns too much to heart. Mr. Butler touched rather happily on the characteristics of her work when she resigned the secretaryship. He spoke of her unwearied zeal, perseverance, and good temper, and added: "She has seen continually the triumph of a good cause where others would have desponded."

She gave up the secretaryship in 1870, when the rules were altered and the arrangements for lectures handed over to the local committees, and she remarked, in

introducing the new rules, that they would make the secretary's work easier and more popular.

Shortly before this she had been asked, and had agreed, to undertake a piece of work which would take her whole time, and it was for this reason, no doubt, that she retired; but an unexpected delay occurred, and she, therefore, continued to work in connection with the North of England Council. Her friend Miss Margaret Calder was made secretary in her place, and Miss Clough naturally continued for a time to help in the secretary's work. She was already on the London Committee for collecting information as to endowments, and was very active in that branch of work. She was also put on the Executive Committee, which took charge of the question of University extension and communicated with the Cambridge Syndicate concerning it. As I have already mentioned, she became President of the North of England Council in 1873, two years after she began work at Cambridge, and was President in 1874, when the Council was dissolved.

I gather from the reports of the Council meetings that Miss Clough did not take a prominent part in its discussions, especially in its earlier years. She read two or three short papers, concerned mainly with practical suggestions; one on the opening of reading-rooms, and another suggesting the formation of a society to recommend qualified teachers; and she frequently said a few words on some practical point, but she made hardly any long speeches, and did not come forward as one who had many ideas to communicate. She was, not, indeed, well fitted to do this, for she was wanting in the power of expression and of logical arrangement, and she had no gift for expounding general principles, or explaining the reasons

for one course as against another. Her method was rather to make her ideas known in intercourse with individuals, and to seize any opportunity which might offer of forwarding them practically.

But though she had ideas and schemes of her own, her aim, when she originally suggested a council of this kind, was not to get any particular plans tried, but rather to bring together a number of competent persons, men from the Universities and others experienced in education, and women who knew what was wanted, and to give them the opportunity of considering the whole question of women's education, and of devising plans for its improvement; and in this desire she was abundantly satisfied.

Her special aims and hopes concerning the scheme of lectures are set forth in a paper which was written for publication in 1868 in order to make the lectures more widely known, and to lead to their being tried elsewhere.

She writes: "Many reasons may commend it [the lectures scheme] to the public. In the first place, it ought to be self-supporting or nearly so; it is suited to clusters of small towns, for by combining they may secure the services of a scientific or literary man, and his residence in the neighbourhood for a period of time. Intercourse with men devoted to science and literature will commend these subjects to those who before cared little for them. In the winter time in these small towns an interest of the kind would be invaluable to both health and spirits as well as intellectually. The young people would be directed to new and higher courses of reading and study, and their elders would naturally desire to know what is awakening the attention and occupying the thoughts of the younger members of the family. The demand for essays or answers

to questions quickens the attention even of those who have not time or inclination for the work, and they read with greater zest, and listen with more attention and understanding because they have read. Home life is left undisturbed, and at the same time those who are likely to wish for a career may be helped and directed in their studies, and become perhaps fitted for higher pursuits or practical life.

"Something has been heard of the pleasure and satisfaction derived from the lectures and from the studies that have followed them, that has been a support and help to those who have laboured at the laborious task of the arrangements, and they have felt with satisfaction that their time and strength have not been thrown away. They have ventured to hope that it may be the means of enabling students to take up special studies, and to follow out with more composure and less fatigue their favourite bents, and that thus perhaps some may be able to enter occupations that are congenial, and not merely drudgery for bread."

She adds: "The intercourse begun between the various teachers and those interested in education engaged in this scheme has in many cases ripened into friendship, and the life of the schoolroom has been enlivened and brightened, while at the same time the horizon has broadened." And she remarks: "Might it not be wiser if our young women could give a portion of their youth to quiet studies and reading, laying up a store against the future, when the busy cares of life and its occupations and anxieties almost take away the power of serious and continuous study?"

There were certain matters which she had specially at heart and desired should be kept in view in the work of the Council. She was particularly anxious that the pro-

posed examination for women should be of use to teachers, and when it had been decided that it should be open to all women over eighteen, she wrote a paper urging that it should nevertheless be framed with special regard to the needs of teachers. In this paper she gives a scheme of the subjects which all teachers ought to know, adding remarks on each of them, and speaks strongly on the need for study of methods, and in favour of a plan for training teachers in schools, all of which is not perhaps quite relevant to the examination, but is interesting to read now. I cannot help quoting one characteristic passage.

"In the questions on history, the student might be required to name the poets who had written about various events, and to name the poems, or parts of poems touching on these events; and thus, when they had to teach history, they would be able to interest their pupils in what had been written by poets as well as by historians. Thus the study would not be only a dry collection of facts, but rather a brilliant series of pictures of past times. Might it not be possible to introduce poetry in the same way into the study of geography, as affording descriptive sketches of different countries and places?"

She set great store by the personal intercourse and friendship which grew out of the educational work, and was most anxious to facilitate and encourage this. At the first meeting of the Council she asked leave to write a paper on reading-rooms and libraries, to be distributed among members of the associations. The President supported the request, with the remark that there was a difficulty in getting the books needed for the lectures; but Miss Clough's arguments are, for the most part, of quite a different kind.

In the course of this paper she says: "Having had the opportunity of attending several meetings of the London and Manchester Associations, my experience has been, in the first place, that formal meetings for business and for discussion are not enough to bring a large society into harmonious and friendly relations. Business will, of course, in the first case, be the engrossing subject. It will be much the same with discussion, though here there may be a greater opportunity for gaining knowledge of character and opinions in a more general way than in the former case. But in meetings of both kinds very little leisure has been allowed for promiscuous conversation, affording the company present an opportunity to arrange themselves in congenial groups, and to cultivate those private and intimate relations which might prove of real value. The little leisure allowed always seems to be much enjoyed, and to be prolonged to the last moment. Would it not, therefore, be possible to provide some outlet for these kindly and friendly feelings? In our smaller towns this would be far easier than in London, where perhaps such a thing is unattainable." She then proposes reading-rooms with papers and periodicals, and continues: "Here in the dull winter afternoons, or long summer evenings, the principals of schools would come to have a chat, to say a word to each other about passing events, to talk over an article in the last newspaper or magazine, maybe to discuss their private affairs, to learn who was ill, who was well, and so forth; in short, to speak friendly words; and thus would good feeling and good fellowship grow up among the members of our society. Occasionally members from the other associations might be tempted to spend a holiday among their fellow-workers in another town.

Here, also, the ladies not connected with schools would have an opportunity of exchanging ideas with those who are carrying on the practical business of education. May we not look forward occasionally to welcoming among us those friends from the Universities who have so kindly and zealously come forward to help us after a more perfect form of education? Thus, may we hope, shall the bonds of our union be cemented and made stronger, and when we want to work together, surely we shall the more readily and the more cordially join hands."

She herself quickly got into friendly and even affectionate relations with those with whom she was brought in contact, and the business communications of the local secretaries usually contain answers to the inquiries which she has evidently made about various members of their families. In the three years of her secretaryship she visited several of the Northern towns more than once, and she undoubtedly enjoyed the opportunities which this gave her of making new friends, and seeing new people and places. She was encouraged, too, by the sympathy with her aims which she found among the members of the Schoolmistresses' Associations, and the assurance which she thus received that real needs did exist, which it was worth while trying to supply. It was of these associations that she wrote in the *Universal Review* in 1888: "The writer of this article had the pleasure of being present at some of their meetings, and of making the acquaintance of many of the members in several towns. Their earnestness and zeal were remarkable, and their power of combining surprising. They were very grateful for sympathy, and very willing to work hard on new lines without much hope of larger remuneration."

Another point which she was anxious to keep always in view was the importance of union and combination, and this subject is repeatedly referred to in the Secretary's reports. In one she says: "It is pleasant to find that the four original associations, Manchester, Sheffield, Liverpool, and Leeds, where the lectures began, still continue to send members to our meetings. . . . I sincerely hope that our union will be continued. It may help very much to give strength and permanence to this movement, and will be very useful in assisting small places."

In speaking of those who were responsible for the work of the North of England Council, it is important to remember how much help was given by University men and how much the Council owed to that help. The University members of the Council did not merely attend its meetings, they also took part in the work done outside the meetings. Many of them were referred to for advice and information at different times, and in particular Mr. Bryce, Mr. Myers, and Mr. Stuart corresponded frequently with Mrs. Butler and Miss Clough as to the examinations and the lectures, and as to the question of endowments.

Miss Clough did not spend her whole time or mind upon the North of England Council work during these years. It did not even use up all the energy she had to give to educational matters, for she busied herself about several questions which did not come within the province of the Council.

She was much interested, for instance, in primary education, and wrote an article in *Macmillan's Magazine* for August 1868, full of suggestions for making the teaching more satisfactory both to teachers and pupils,

for dealing with all sorts of exceptional cases, and for turning volunteer teachers to account. This paper also contained an account of the method of teaching reading and writing used in the German schools. She had heard of this method from a German friend, Miss Eichens, a teacher in Berlin, and had been struck by the greater quickness with which the German children learned to read and write, and she was very anxious to get it introduced into England. Besides expounding the plan in *Macmillan's Magazine*, she asked Miss Eichens to write a reading-book for young children in which it was set forth. She herself revised the little book, wrote a preface to it, and carried on the necessary negotiations with the Clarendon Press, by whom it was eventually published.

The question of day schools for girls was one in which she was particularly interested, and at this time it was being much discussed. She went to see Miss Buss's school and Cheltenham College, and in 1871 wrote a paper giving her ideas on the subject. I find also among her papers one proposing that a company should be started to erect school buildings, and put them into the hands of trustees under certain conditions as to the management of the schools. She proposes that, to begin with, the company should erect the buildings for Miss Buss's school, which was then needing new premises. She also suggests that the shares should be small, as many women would thereby be enabled to take part in the undertaking, and perhaps also the parents of the children who might attend the schools.

Though the North of England Council and the educational questions of which I have spoken gave Miss Clough plenty of irregular occupation, she was still anxious

to get some regular permanent work. In the end of 1869 Mr. W. Rogers, the rector of Bishopsgate, at the suggestion of the late Master of Balliol, invited her to become the head of a new middle-class day school for girls which he proposed to start in Bishopsgate. A successful boys' school was already in existence, of which Mr. Jowitt, now rector of Stevenage, was headmaster, and Mr. Rogers and the governing body wished to start a school for girls on the same lines. Miss Clough accepted the offer. She expected to begin work before long, and it was for this reason that she gave up the secretaryship of the North of England Council in 1870. But difficulties arose, sufficient funds were not forthcoming, and in the spring of 1871 it seemed still quite uncertain when the school could be started.

It was at this time that Mr. Henry Sidgwick was trying to arrange for the opening of a house of residence at Cambridge for students coming from a distance to attend lectures, and was seeking for a lady to preside over it. It was natural that Miss Clough should occur to him as a suitable person. She was known to him personally, and he knew of her work on the North of England Council and of the interest which she had already shown in what was being done at Cambridge, and accordingly, in March 1871, he asked her if she would undertake the post; but she declined on the ground that she was pledged to Mr. Rogers. A month or two later, Mrs. Arthur Clough, seeing that the Bishopsgate scheme seemed less and less likely to be realised, suggested to Mr. Sidgwick to ask Miss Clough again. He did so, and she agreed to begin work at Cambridge in the following autumn.

It was fortunate that she made this decision and did not reserve herself for the Bishopsgate school, for the

difficulties in the way of the scheme eventually became too great, and it was finally abandoned early in 1872.

Her home during these years continued to be at Combe Hurst or in London with Mrs. Arthur Clough, but she spent a good many weeks in each year in Liverpool and other places where the lectures were taking place. She went about too as before among her friends and family, and went again to Germany and Switzerland.

Many of her friends were interested in her work, and some of them were able to help her in it. Mrs. Arthur Clough was with her in Liverpool on one of her autumn campaigns before the winter course of lectures, and Miss Elinor Bonham Carter (now Mrs. A. V. Dicey) was her companion on several similar occasions, and worked with her on the Committees connected with the Examination for Women and the work of the Endowed Schools Commissioners.

Among those who gave her valuable help at this time were her friends Mr. and Mrs. William Smith. Mr. Smith was well known as the author of *Thorndale*, and as a writer on literary and philosophical subjects in the *Edinburgh Review* and elsewhere, and Mrs. Smith was also a remarkable person, and one who left a deep impression on all who knew her. Miss Clough had known Mrs. Smith as a girl in Wales, and during the years between 1860 and 1870 she renewed acquaintance with her, and visited her and her husband frequently at their home in Westmoreland. She was warmly attached to them both, and felt that she owed much to their sympathy and encouragement and to their wise and helpful counsel, and she wrote long after that the seed of her work at this time, and later, "was planted in their quiet cottage home at Derwentwater."

CHAPTER VI

THE STARTING OF NEWNHAM COLLEGE

Miss Clough's history is, from this time forward, so closely interwoven with the course of the movement at Cambridge, with which she now became associated, that it is necessary to give a somewhat detailed account of its origin and development before attempting to describe her work and way of life.

The idea of organising lectures for women at Cambridge was first brought forward by Mr. Henry Sidgwick in the autumn of 1869, and was approved by many distinguished members of the University. Mr. Fawcett was then Professor of Political Economy in the University, and he and Mrs. Fawcett were living in Cambridge at this time. Mrs. Fawcett was much interested in Mr. Sidgwick's scheme, and became his active ally in taking steps to carry it out. It was obviously important to gain the sympathy of the ladies belonging to the University circle, and Mrs. Fawcett therefore invited a number of her friends and acquaintances to meet in her drawing-room and consider Mr. Sidgwick's proposal, and obtained their approval of the scheme. A General Committee of Management was then formed, consisting of members of the University, and a small Executive Committee, which included several ladies.

The General Committee included Professor F. D.

Maurice, Professor Adams, Professor Cayley, Mr. W. K. Clifford, Mr. Henry Jackson, Mr. R. C. Jebb, Mr. Alfred Marshall, Mr. J. E. B. Mayor, Mr. W. W. Skeat, and many others. The Executive Committee consisted of Professor Maurice (at whose house the meetings were held), Mr. T. G. Bonney, Mr. Ferrers (now Master of Gonville and Caius), Mr. Peile (now Master of Christ's), Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Fawcett, Miss M. G. Kennedy, and Mrs. Venn. Mr. Sidgwick and Mr. Markby, the Secretary to the Local Examination Syndicate, were secretaries, and Mrs. Bateson, the wife of the Master of St. John's College, was treasurer.

A scheme of lectures was drawn up and printed in readiness for the Lent term of 1870. I find announced in this list lectures on English History by Professor Maurice, on English Language and Literature by Mr. Skeat, on Algebra and the Principles of Arithmetic by Professor Cayley, Latin by Mr. Mayor, Political Economy by Mr. Marshall.

At the head of this list the aims and objects of the Committee were expounded as follows:—

"For some time past a great and growing desire has been felt and expressed in many quarters for some improvement and extension of the education of women. To meet this demand several schemes have been organised in London, Edinburgh, and other towns of the United Kingdom; schemes differing widely in detail, but all having in view the same object. These schemes have proved more or less successful, and progress and experiment are still being made in the same direction. It has seemed to many persons resident in Cambridge that this town offers exceptional facilities for an attempt of this kind, since it contains a large number of

trained and practised teachers, who are willing to extend the sphere of their instruction."

The circular goes on to say that "the present juncture seems a favourable one for the experiment, as the University has recently instituted an examination for women in various subjects, and it appears natural and desirable that members of the University should offer instruction in the same subjects to all who may be disposed to avail themselves of it. Accordingly, a Committee has been formed of resident members of the University engaged in education, who have adopted the following scheme of arrangements for lectures."

The lectures proved successful at once, and in the first term the various courses were attended by nearly eighty ladies. They were delivered at this time and for some years in a small building which stands in the garden of a house then occupied by Mr. C. J. Clay, and which Mr. Clay kindly allowed the Committee to use without paying rent.

Mr. Sidgwick and Mrs. Fawcett had from the first the intention and hope that their scheme should be the means of opening to women in the country at large the advantages of University education; and accordingly, their original plan had included a house for the reception of students from a distance. But it was thought wiser to postpone this part of the scheme until the need for it became more manifest. At Mrs. Fawcett's suggestion, an appeal was made for funds in order to found exhibitions to be held by students attending the lectures. In response to this appeal, Mr. J. S. Mill and Miss Helen Taylor promised an exhibition of £40 a year for two years, and other sums were subscribed which enabled the Committee

to offer two or three small scholarships to be competed for in the Senior and Higher Local Examinations.

In the autumn of 1870 two ladies living at a distance from Cambridge applied to the Committee for leave to attend the lectures, and arrangements were made for them to be received by residents in Cambridge; and in the Senior Local Examination in December 1870, the Mill-Taylor Scholarship was awarded to Miss Edith Creak (now head mistress of King Edward's High School for Girls, Birmingham), and accepted by her. Accordingly, by the end of 1870, the expediency of making permanent provision for these students from a distance came to be generally accepted by those who were interested in the scheme of lectures.

About the time that Mr. Sidgwick and those who were working with him were making plans for a house of residence, the Committee of the Women's College at Hitchin was discussing whether they should or should not move their College into Cambridge. Their decision on this point was of great interest to those concerned in the lectures scheme, and the latter had to consider how far what they had in hand would affect or be affected by the work of the College.

This College, which in 1873 became Girton College, was opened in October 1869. Its existence may be said to be mainly due to the ability and steadfast purpose and the self-devotion of Miss Emily Davies, in conjunction with the zeal and enterprise and the munificence of Madame Bodichon, though it had other benefactors, notably Lady Stanley of Alderley (who joined the Committee in 1871), who contributed much to its success. It was managed at its starting by a Committee including, among others, the

following:—Lady Augusta Stanley, Lady Goldsmid, Madame Bodichon, the Dean of Canterbury, Mrs. Russell Gurney, Miss F. Metcalfe, Mr. H. J. Roby, Professor Seeley, and Mr. Sedley Taylor. This Committee was advised by another, consisting of members of Cambridge University.

Hitchin was only a temporary position, chosen for its nearness both to London and Cambridge, and it was for some time thought that the College would probably be moved into Cambridge. Mr. Sidgwick was under this impression when he started the lecture organisation almost immediately after the College opened at Hitchin; and he thought that when this migration came to pass, the two schemes might coalesce, and that the new lectures for women, with the house of residence attached, might supplement and extend the provision for the academic education of women which was made by the College. But in July 1870, the College Committee decided that the site of the new building which they proposed to erect was to be sought for "at Hitchin, or near Cambridge, but not in or close to Cambridge." The site at Girton, which was eventually chosen, is only two miles out of Cambridge, and since the University has extended its bounds to include it, and since, in practice, two miles has been found not to be an impassable barrier, it now seems surprising that coming to Girton was regarded as such a wholly different thing from coming to Cambridge. But at that time it was so regarded, both by the College Committee itself and by others; and since the scheme of lectures was intended for women residing in Cambridge, as well as for those coming from outside, it could hardly seem reasonable to propose that an essential portion of the work should be carried on at some distance from the town.

There was, however, a more fundamental obstacle to coalition between the two schemes, in the fact that the lectures at Cambridge were closely connected with the Examination for Women,[1] and that any examinations specially intended for women were strongly disapproved by the Hitchin College Committee. This disapproval was partly due to the belief that only examinations which were used as a test of men's education would maintain the fixed and certain standard which was needed for the improvement of women's education. It was urged that examinations for women exclusively would tend to lower the level of female education, because the standard of such examinations would be liable to be lowered to suit the incompetence of the candidates. It was also felt that a certificate of success in a women's examination would carry comparatively little weight, and that, in order to secure recognition for intellectual work done by women, and to obtain for them the privileges and opportunities which they needed and desired, it was essential that they should submit themselves to tests which were generally recognised and accepted. To those who held these views, the connection of the lectures scheme with the Examination for Women naturally seemed to be a serious defect.

On the other hand, the lectures had been avowedly started to prepare for this examination, and the fact that the examination had lately been instituted by the University was put forward in the prospectus of the lectures as a reason for providing teaching in the subjects selected for it; and valuable support had been secured on this ground. It was owing to this that Mr. Markby, the secretary to the Local Examinations Syndicate, was

[1] This examination was, after 1873, called the Higher Local Examination.

one of the secretaries of the lectures organisation, and that at his death Mr. G. F. Browne (now Bishop of Bristol), who succeeded him as Secretary to the Syndicate, consented also to succeed him as Secretary to the Lectures Committee. But further, many of those who lectured and supported the lectures, and in particular Mr. Sidgwick, were not prepared to admit the objections urged against the Examination for Women. They considered that the new examination would be more satisfactory, as a guide and test of the more elementary work of their students, than the Previous Examination, or "Little-go," and the Ordinary Degree examinations of the University: that it would at once encourage and attest a higher standard of study, and allow a better selection of subjects. In particular, while they were anxious that the classical curriculum should be as fully opened to women as any other of the Honours Courses, they thought the education of girls would not be benefited by the imposition of Greek and Latin, required for passing the Little-go, as a necessary preliminary to all the higher branches of academic study. There were other respects in which those who were working in Cambridge, having their own ideas as to the needs of women's education, thought that the Hitchin College scheme fell short of their aims, and might well be supplemented. In the first place, it was thought by some that it would be possible to provide University education to women at a less cost than the College was prepared to do. It was felt to be of the greatest importance to make the new opportunities of study accessible to as many as possible, and, in particular, to those women who wished to prepare themselves for teaching. The education of girls was known to be very

unsatisfactory; better teachers were urgently needed; and the best possible means of improving the state of things seemed to be to give a large number of teachers a chance of a good education. And, again, some members of the Cambridge group were anxious that University education for women should be entirely unconnected with any religious denomination, and feared that the formal connection with the Church of England established by a clause in the constitution of the Hitchin College would give it a distinctly denominational character.

These considerations appealed with different force to different people, but they were among them sufficient to convince those concerned in the matter that there was still room for the Cambridge organisation, and work for it to do in relation to the country at large, which the Hitchin College was not prepared to undertake. In coming to this decision there was no idea of showing unfriendliness to the College at Hitchin. All who were connected with the lectures wished well to the College, and Mr. Sidgwick, the originator both of the lectures scheme and of the house of residence, had been from the first, and continued for many years to be, on the staff of lecturers at Hitchin and at Girton. Some of those connected with the College did undoubtedly think at one time that the house in Cambridge (which ultimately became Newnham College) would interfere with their success, and this was perhaps not an unnatural fear; but it is now hardly possible to doubt that the development of the two institutions, side by side, has been an advantage to both, by securing a wider extent of aid and support than could otherwise have been obtained for the academic education of women.

But though the supporters of the lectures had now in 1870 decided that a house of residence was desirable, there was naturally some hesitation on account of the financial risk. The Committee were not prepared to suggest that the Cambridge men, who already gave much of their time and labour, should be asked to incur expense also. The difficulty was only solved when, in the spring of 1871, Mr. Sidgwick determined to take a house for the accommodation of students on his own responsibility, as soon as he could find a lady to preside over it.

I have told how Mr. Sidgwick asked Miss Clough to undertake this post, and how she finally agreed to do so in May 1871. She paid her first visit to Cambridge soon after this, in order to make acquaintance with the place and with the people with whom she was to work. In the course of the summer Mr. Sidgwick took and furnished No. 74 Regent Street, and in September Miss Clough entered into possession.

The undertaking was, as I have said, practically a private venture of Mr. Sidgwick's, and was quite distinct from the lectures organisation, though many of the same people were interested in both. The management was in Miss Clough's hands, but after a time she had a Committee to help her, which included the following ladies:—Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Cayley, Mrs. Albert Dicey, Mrs. Peile, and Mrs. Venn; and from the first Mr. Sidgwick gave her constant help and advice. The house of residence began work in October 1871 with five students, after Christmas the number rose to seven, and after Easter to eight.

Before giving any account of the internal life of this little community, and of the characteristics of Miss Clough's work as its head, I propose to give its external history,

and the history of the whole movement up till 1880, when Newnham College was established on its present basis.

Miss Clough soon came to the conclusion that the house in Regent Street was not well suited to her purposes, since it was in the centre of the town, without a garden, and very noisy, and she accordingly set to work to find another house. She succeeded in finding a rambling old house, called Merton Hall, buried among apple trees in a large garden on the edge of the town, and there the colony moved in 1872, to its great satisfaction.

In 1873 so many students applied to be taken in, that Merton Hall would not hold them, and a supplementary house was taken in Trumpington Street. Miss F. M. Hutchins, a friend of Miss Clough's, and afterwards Principal of Aberdare Hall, Cardiff, very kindly took charge of it, and remained there till 1875, when it was no longer needed. This provided for seven students, Merton Hall took fourteen, and eight more were provided for in lodgings or with friends. In the Easter term still more out-students had to be arranged for.

Unfortunately, the landlord of Merton Hall required the house for his own use, and Miss Clough's stay there had to come to an end in the summer of 1874. When the notice to leave was given in the year preceding this, the Committee and the friends of the undertaking took counsel together as to the next step. In a circular printed soon after, they say that "a search throughout Cambridge has convinced the promoters of the scheme of the impossibility of finding a suitable house already built," and that "it has therefore been decided to build a large house in the vicinity of Cambridge for the reception of students." It was decided to raise a portion (£3000) of

the necessary funds by forming a company and allotting shares, and to supplement this by subscriptions and donations, for which an appeal was made to the public. The shares of the company were quickly taken up by friends, and in a few months the promoters received sufficient assurance of eventually getting the money required to justify them in taking some land on lease from St. John's College and beginning to build.

The new company was only concerned with providing a hall of residence; the management of the lectures was still quite distinct, and remained in the hands of the Lectures Committee, which had in 1873 been formally constituted an Association for promoting the Higher Education of Women in Cambridge.

The new house could not possibly be ready till the autumn of 1875, and this left Miss Clough and her students without a home for a year. However, two adjacent houses were found in Bateman Street, into which they were packed in October 1874. It is said that it was by much personal persuasion that Miss Clough induced the builder and owner of the houses to make a door of connection between them, and to fall in with an ingenious plan of hers, by which he and his family occupied the ground floor of one house, and she and her students spread themselves over the upper floors of one and the whole of the other house.

Though friends came forward very generously, and a large part of the sum needed for building the new hall was subscribed before long, it was not to be expected that the whole amount (which eventually came to about £10,000) could be got without effort. Miss Clough and all concerned in the undertaking were naturally very anxious to

start with as little burden as possible on the income of the institution, and they worked hard in making the matter known, and in appealing to all who might be interested in it. Miss Clough wrote a leaflet for distribution among friends, which gives her view of the situation. After a few words about the lectures scheme, she writes: "It is well, before saying any more, to draw attention to the remarkable fact that these lectures were a free-will offering of higher culture made to women by members of the University, to enable them to pass with credit the examination for women over eighteen, which had been granted by the University in 1868 on receipt of a memorial praying for such an examination." Then after some account of the subjects taught, she goes on to speak of the service rendered by the house of residence. "In this way a number of women of different occupations, and different stations in life, and different religious persuasions, have been brought together to receive at least some share of academic education. So far the result has been very satisfactory; there has been much kindly feeling and good fellowship among the students, and their close proximity to the town, while opening to them a much greater variety and extent of teaching than they could otherwise have obtained, has also enabled them to attend their own places of worship.

"The expenses of the house, though they have been kept as low as was compatible with health and comfort, have from the first been somewhat greater than the receipts; but so long as the scheme was regarded as an experiment, they have been willingly borne by one or two persons. Now, however, that the lectures have taken their place as a permanent institution, and, at the same time,

the increasing number of our students renders it desirable to provide increased accommodation, we venture to appeal to the public for support. It may perhaps be thought that the growing popularity of the scheme ought to make it a financial success. But it is an essential part of our plan to offer academic education on the lowest possible terms to those who are preparing to be teachers; accordingly, we receive such students for three-quarters of the ordinary payment (£15 instead of £20 for the term of eight weeks). This sum merely pays board, service, etc., leaving nothing for rent or management; but even this payment is somewhat heavy for the scanty resources of this class of students, and we are anxious to be able to reduce it still further. And thus the increase in our numbers must be expected to be, financially speaking, a burden rather than a gain. It is on this ground that we ask for donations towards building, in order that the annual expenditure of the house may not be too much swelled by interest to be paid on the original outlay. If we are right in thinking our object one of national importance, surely the burden which it entails should not be thrown entirely upon residents in Cambridge, much less should members of the University, who are already giving their time ungrudgingly, be called upon to give money also. These lecturers are not rich, their time is much occupied with other duties, and yet they take on themselves voluntarily much additional work, and for a most trifling remuneration, that of one guinea per student for each course of lectures during a term of eight weeks. They teach in most cases two hours weekly, set questions and look over papers besides. All persons preparing to be teachers are admitted to these advantages for half-price. Thus the cost

of education alone is reduced to a comparatively trifling amount.

"As the Principal of Merton Hall, I have had constant opportunities of watching this work and seeing the results, and I can bear witness to the great pains bestowed on the students with very good success. I do feel strongly that the efforts made by University men in their own University to give to women the best educational advantages deserve to be recognised by the public, and I cannot but hope that when all they have done is known, support will be given to the scheme they have devised and so generously carried out."

I cannot help mentioning some of those who, by their help at this time, did so much to make Newnham College.

Among the first subscribers was Miss Ewart, who sent £1000, a piece of timely munificence which was most encouraging to those at Cambridge. Miss Ewart had been interested in the lectures scheme, and had subscribed to the Exhibitions Fund since 1871, and from 1875 up to the present time she has been a member of the Newnham Council, and a constant and most generous friend to the College. Miss Alice Bonham Carter was another generous subscriber. She was treasurer to the Newnham Hall Company at this time, and, like Miss Ewart, has been on the Council ever since. Another name on this list is that of Mr. Stephen Winkworth. It would be impossible to say how often Newnham has had occasion to be grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Winkworth since this time. Miss Clough felt that members of the University ought not to be asked to contribute in money, since they had already given so much in time and trouble, but many

Cambridge names are in the list. For instance, Mr. Sidgwick, Dr. and the Misses Kennedy, Dr. and Mrs. Bateson, Professor Adams, Mr. Peile, Mr. Alfred Marshall, Mr. Coutts Trotter, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Main, Mr. R. T. Wright, Mr. F. M. Balfour, Dr. Gaskell.

The Council of the newly formed Company (who were all shareholders) consisted of the following:—

Chairman, Mr. Coutts Trotter (Fellow and Tutor, and afterwards Vice-Master of Trinity College), Mrs. Adams, Miss Balfour (now Mrs. Henry Sidgwick), Miss A. Bonham Carter, Miss A. J. Clough, Mr. A. V. Dicey, Mrs. A. V. Dicey, Miss Ewart, Mr. Peile (Fellow and Tutor, and now Master of Christ's College), Mr. Henry Sidgwick, Mr. W. C. Sidgwick, Mr. R. T. Wright, Fellow of Christ's College. Miss A. Bonham Carter was Treasurer, Miss Clough was at first called Hon. Secretary, but this post was soon after taken by Miss M. G. Kennedy.

Miss Clough took advantage of her old connection with Liverpool to appeal there for help. More than one gift to the Cambridge movement had already been spontaneously made from Liverpool; the Ladies' Educational Society of Liverpool, which Miss Clough may be said to have founded, and of which she had for some time been secretary, collected a sum of money as a testimonial to her. This, at her request, was used to found a scholarship for Liverpool girls, which was to be held at Newnham Hall, and was called the Clough Scholarship, In 1873 Mr. James Aikin of Liverpool had given £1000 to the Lectures Association at Cambridge, the interest of which was to be used in supplementing the fees of advanced classes where the numbers were small. Now, in answer to Miss Clough's appeal for help in building the new Hall, Mr. Aikin came

forward again, and Mr. William Rathbone, Mr. Richard Reynolds Rathbone, and others, gave valuable help.

Birmingham was known to be interested in education, and Miss Clough was advised to appeal for help there also. Accordingly she made an expedition to Birmingham early in 1875, with Miss M. G. Kennedy, who had many friends there, and it was arranged that a public meeting should be held,—under the auspices of the Birmingham Educational League, — at which Miss Clough and Mrs. Fawcett should tell their story and make their appeal. This plan was carried out, and with good results. Mrs. Fawcett made an effective speech, and Dr. Dale, Dr. Crosskey, and other leading men in Birmingham, spoke with approval of the Cambridge scheme. Mr. Vardy read an interesting letter from Professor Seeley, in which he sets forth that view of its origin, which Newnham, under Miss Clough's influence, has always wished to maintain. Professor Seeley says: "Miss Clough's institution came into existence in a very unpretending way, and it may perhaps be thought by some to be naturally destined to make room for something more elaborate and costly, as the cause of Higher Education for women comes more into fashion. But I think this is not so, and that the simple Cambridge machinery will be found all the better and all the more lasting because it suggested itself so very naturally, and almost, so to speak, created itself. It is all the better for a college, as for other institutions, when it is not made, but grows." He goes on to speak of the teaching power to be found at Cambridge, and of the many other advantages which come from "the plan of nestling, so to speak, into one of the old Universities."

Help was given to the building fund by a number of

Birmingham sympathisers. One anonymous benefactor took shares to the amount of £500, the interest of which was to be spent in a scholarship, called the Birmingham Scholarship.

The result of all these efforts on the part of the promoters of the scheme, and of the generosity of a large number of people, was that, at the annual meeting of the Company in June 1876, the treasurer was able to announce that with the help of £2800 raised in shares, enough money had been received in donations to meet the cost of the house and furniture and the laying out of a garden of two acres. The house was planned to provide rooms for the Principal, thirty students, and a resident lecturer. One room was allotted to each student as joint sitting-room and bedroom, the size of the rooms being decided according to the advice of sanitary experts. There were also four common sitting-rooms and a large dining-room. The part of Cambridge in which the house was placed is known as Newnham, and it was therefore called Newnham Hall. This first building now forms part of what is known as the Old Hall of Newnham College. By great efforts the house was finished and made habitable by the appointed time, and in October Miss Clough was established there, with twenty-seven students, and Miss Paley—whose work in Moral Sciences had in 1874 received high approval from the Tripos examiners—as resident lecturer.

The Council of the Newnham Hall Company took no breathing space after completing the Hall, but at once found additions and improvements necessary. At the annual meeting in June 1876, they reported that a gymnasium and chemical laboratory were urgently needed, and the following year they announced their decision to add

three rooms to the Hall. All these undertakings were carried out in the next two or three years.

In spite of much generosity, there was naturally great pressure on the Company's finances. Though the cost of the original building and of the garden had been covered by the shares and donations, only a small part of the cost of the much-needed additions was met by subscriptions, and the remainder had to come from the income of the Hall. The Council was anxious to keep the fees low, and to help as many as possible of those who could not pay even those fees, so that strict economy had to be observed.

Meanwhile, the number of women anxious to come to Cambridge for the sake of the lectures was increasing even more rapidly than before. The Committee of the Lectures Association appointed a Sub-Committee to watch over those students who wished to come to Cambridge, but could not be taken in at Newnham. In 1876 there were about fourteen such students, and the following year the Sub-Committee took a house, and found a lady to take charge of it. In that year there were still twelve students in lodgings, and in the following year, 1878, another small house was taken. But in the year 1879–80, besides the thirty students at Newnham and twenty in the two supplementary houses, there were about twenty-five in lodgings. All those who were not at Newnham were under the authority of the Sub-Committee of the Lectures Association, and were watched over and cared for by its secretary, Miss M. G. Kennedy. It was natural, under these circumstances, that the Lectures Committee should report that the accommodation of so many students had been a subject of considerable anxiety to the Lodgings Sub-Committee.

It was clear that another house was needed, but it was

not at first clear whether it should be built by the Newnham Hall Company or by the Lectures Association. After some consideration, it was decided that the two organisations should amalgamate. The Newnham Hall Company was to be wound up and the Association dissolved, and a new Association, "not for profit," formed, under the name of "The Newnham College Association for advancing Education and Learning among Women in Cambridge." This new Association was to build a second Hall, and to undertake the management of that and the existing Hall. It was also to take over the organisation of lectures and teaching, which had been the work of the old Association, and also all that it had been doing in awarding scholarships and giving pecuniary help to poor students. This plan was finally agreed to in May 1879, and in the following year the Newnham College Association came into existence, and Newnham College was established on its present footing.

The decision to build was taken long before the conclusion of the legal arrangements, which were not completed until the spring of 1879. The question how a new Hall was to be paid for was the first thing to be considered. The Lectures Association had acquired, through donations and subscriptions, a capital of £1000, which it was fair to devote to the building, since it would include lecture-rooms, for which rent had hitherto been paid, since the classes had outgrown the rooms kindly lent by Mr. Clay. A further sum of £2000 from a fund described as devoted to helping the education of women was provided by an anonymous hand. "The rest," as one of the official documents remarked, "might probably with an effort be raised by donations." "The rest" meant nearly £9000, as the estimate for the

new building was not less than £11,000. However, it was thought safe to proceed, and a second piece of land was taken from St. John's College, just to the north of Newnham Hall, and divided from it by a public footpath. Here a building to hold thirty-six students, a Principal or Vice-Principal, and resident lecturers, was erected. More than £2000 was at once promised in Cambridge alone, and in the next two or three years very nearly the whole sum was subscribed. The balance was paid by degrees out of the College income. It was settled that the name Newnham Hall should be dropped, and that the two buildings should be called the North and South Halls of Newnham College. The whole College was to be under the principalship of Miss Clough, but the new Hall was to be in the charge of a Vice-Principal. It was not easy to find anyone exactly suited to take this vice-principalship. Mrs. Henry Sidgwick[1] had for some years taken a large share in the work of the Association and of the Newnham Hall Committee. She had been treasurer of both since 1877, she was on many committees and sub-committees, and before her marriage she had resided for a term in Newnham Hall. Now, when the question of the vice-principalship arose, she and Mr. Sidgwick threw themselves into the breach. Mrs. Sidgwick became for the time Vice-Principal of the College, with charge of the North Hall, and she and Mr. Sidgwick temporarily gave up their house in Cambridge and lived in three rooms in the new Hall.

I have now told the history of the Hall of residence which in 1880 developed into Newnham College, but I have not given any adequate account of the organisation of lectures and teaching, for the sake of which the Halls

[1] Mr. Henry Sidgwick married Miss Balfour in 1876.

existed, and which, when the Lectures Association was dissolved, became an essential part of the work of the college.

Though the two branches were formally distinct, they were very closely connected, so much so that, though for the sake of clearness it is necessary to describe their work separately, it is almost misleading to do so. The same people were involved in both, and most of those who were on the Committee or Council of the Hall were also on the Executive Committee of the lectures. Not only Mr. Sidgwick, who was in fact the founder of both undertakings, but Miss Clough and the Misses Kennedy, and a little later Mrs. Sidgwick, were active members of both, and there were many others in the same position. The two organisations worked in conjunction with each other, and each helped in the other's work, so that from the time when Newnham Hall was started, all that was done by either was popularly described as done by "Newnham." Newnham students got their education mainly from Association lecturers, and formed the large proportion of the Association classes; and, on the other hand, Association students not belonging to the Hall were watched over by Miss Clough and the resident lecturers at Newnham, and when Newnham College was formed, they were retrospectively included in the list of former Newnham students.

The Committee which was formed in 1869 to arrange for lectures for women had no formal constitution, but in 1873, as I have already mentioned, it was transformed into an Association for Promoting the Higher Education of Women in Cambridge, of which Professor Adams became President. This was done partly to ensure stability and partly to extend the interest in the movement, but mainly

for financial reasons. It was thought important to secure a regular income in order to meet the cost of hiring lecture-rooms, and, if possible, to accumulate funds from donations with which lecture-rooms might ultimately be built. By the new constitution, subscribers of one guinea, donors of not less than ten guineas, and professors who opened their lectures to women, were entitled to become members of the Association.

Tradition gives also another reason for the change. It is said that it was found to be necessary, because Mr. Sidgwick, who, as secretary, made all arrangements concerning the lecture-rooms, could not be induced to send in any bills for such things as coals and gas, which were nevertheless obviously consumed there, and it was supposed that only the formality of a balance-sheet could meet this difficulty.

The amount of educational work accomplished by the Association and the number of women whom it helped is really remarkable. The opportunities which it offered were likely to attract any women at that time who had a taste for study or wished to improve their education, since there were then very few places where women could get any help at all in their studies, and fewer still which could provide such efficient teaching in such a variety of subjects. The subjects in which teaching was offered were, as has been said, for the most part those required for the Higher Local Examination. Miss Clough, in her appeal for help to the public, speaks of the plan which was followed.

"This examination includes the following subjects:—English language, literature, and history; arithmetic; languages, ancient and modern; mathematics; certain branches of natural science; logic, and political economy;

harmony; and drawing. The lectures scheme has made provisions for almost all these subjects, together with one or two more, and is capable of being extended. This wide range of studies is well suited to the requirements and present attainments of women. They are encouraged to begin with familiar subjects, such as arithmetic, history, English language and literature, and then to take up whatever special department may interest them most. Having thus obtained the University certificate, they are encouraged to proceed further in the line of studies they have chosen, which, having learnt the value of thorough and systematic teaching, the Cambridge students are usually anxious to do, if they are able to prolong their residence;" and she adds: "Several who have left early have expressed their intention to return and continue their studies as soon as they can afford the expense."

The examinations did not involve advanced study, but they encouraged thorough work, and the ground covered by the papers in each subject was enough to make the preparation for them interesting. The students of that time certainly found it so, and clearly took a keen interest in the teaching and in their own reading.

I have already mentioned the names of a few of the lecturers. Later students are sometimes tempted to envy the early students some of their privileges. Professor Seeley lectured to them for some years on modern history, Professor Cayley taught them algebra, Mr. Jebb gave a course of lectures on Macedonian history and another on Milton, and Mr. Sidgwick, besides lecturing regularly on his own subjects, gave occasional courses on English literature; and there were other lecturers not less distinguished.

Besides arranging these special lectures and classes for

the women students, the Committee were successful in obtaining their admission to a share in the teaching already provided in the University.

Several of the University professors had been for a long time in the habit of admitting women to their lectures, and in 1873, in answer to an inquiry from Mr. Sidgwick as secretary of the Association, twenty-two out of the thirty-four professors of the University granted formal leave to women students to attend their lectures, and a few years later this twenty-two had grown to twenty-nine. In the case of several of the professorial lectures there were special reasons against opening them to women, and, in particular, the admission of women to the medical lectures was not asked for either at that or any later time. Gradually, also, women were admitted to lectures given in College halls or lecture-rooms. St. John's College, even as early as 1871, permitted one of its Fellows and lecturers, Mr. Main, to give instruction to women students in the chemical laboratory of the College, and this Mr. Main constantly did, usually at an early hour, such as 8.30 A.M., before demonstrations for undergraduates began. This continued till the Newnham laboratory was built in 1879. But Christ's was the first College to admit women to lectures in its precincts, and the occasion of this was curious. Mr. Jebb was to give a course of lectures on Macedonian history to women in the room hired by the Committee. Some undergraduates belonging to Christ's College, seeing the announcement of these lectures, asked leave of the Tutor (Mr. Peile) to attend them. Mr. Peile referred the question to the Master, and the Master, after deliberation, proposed that Mr. Jebb should lecture in the hall of Christ's, and that the women should attend his

lectures there. This was done, and after that time the students were admitted to certain other lectures in Christ's College. King's College next gave them leave to attend Mr. Oscar Browning's lectures, and not long after, certain lectures at Trinity were opened to them.

Even if there were not many to bear witness to what was done in the early years of this movement, the mere printed reports and announcements of lectures would show the anxious zeal with which the Committee tried to provide for the needs of all its students, and to give them every possible help and advantage. Before any formal list could be published of the professors whose lectures were open to women, students were invited to apply to Mr. Sidgwick for information on the matter. It was announced that if any students should find the lectures on languages too advanced, efforts would be made to provide additional instruction for them. When certain professorial lectures on natural science were opened to them, the Committee arranged for supplementary teaching for those who needed it. Then, too, in some of the announcements advice was given as to which lectures students of one subject or another should attend. Students not belonging to Newnham Hall were told they could receive advice from one of the resident lecturers there; and students who had passed the Higher Local Examination, and wished to carry their studies further, were requested to communicate with Mr. Sidgwick.

When Mr. Sidgwick framed the scheme of lectures in 1870, he intended that, while the more elementary lectures should prepare students for the Higher Local Examination, more advanced teaching, supplementing the professorial lectures opened to women, should enable those who had

passed through this preliminary trial, and wished to go further, to go through a complete course of academic education in one or other of the departments into which academic study is divided at Cambridge, and which form the subjects of the Honours Degree Examinations. There were some among the earliest students who wished to take advantage of this part of the scheme, and special interest was taken in their work, though there was some difficulty in providing teaching for them, as classes for such small numbers were necessarily costly. Since the main object in view was to secure the best system of education for women, Mr. Sidgwick and those who were working with him were anxious to lay stress rather upon the teaching than upon examinations; still it was recognised that the work done by the students ought to be properly tested and certified at the end of their course. The question how this could best be done was, however, left to be decided when the occasion should arise; and long before this time arrived, the success of certain bold steps taken by the Hitchin College Committee had made it possible to look forward to the admission of women students to the Honours Examinations of the University.

It was an essential part of the scheme of those who started the College at Hitchin and founded Girton College to obtain the admission of women to the Degree Examinations of the University. Their efforts were from the first directed to the attainment of this end, and it was kept in view in the plan of study framed by the College Committee for their earliest students. These first students began at once to work on the lines laid down by the University for its undergraduate members. In November 1870 the Committee applied to the Council of the Senate for permission to use

the papers set for the Previous Examination, and to make private arrangements with the examiners for looking over and reporting on the answers. The Council, after due deliberation, resolved not to express disapproval of the course proposed, and the entire responsibility was thus thrown upon the examiners. The examiners saw no objection to the plan, and five students from Hitchin were examined in December 1870, and passed successfully. This was a useful precedent, and gave reason to hope for the success of further steps; but the really significant point was gained two years later, early in 1873, when the examiners in the Classical and Mathematical Triposes, the most important examinations of the University, were asked to examine three of the College students in the Tripos papers, and consented to do so. All the three candidates passed successfully. The following year the Lectures Association presented two candidates for the Moral Sciences Tripos, and the College, which had in 1873 removed to Girton, presented one for the Natural Sciences Tripos; and from this time some women students from Girton, and some belonging to the Association, were each year informally admitted, by the courtesy of the examiners, to the Tripos Examinations; until, in 1881, these examinations were formally opened to women by the University.

The privilege was held on a very precarious tenure, since in each case it depended on the view of the matter taken by the individual examiners. But though it occasionally happened that one or more of the examiners in a particular Tripos disapproved of the practice and declined to examine the women, on every occasion there were some examiners who were willing to undertake the task; so that the women students were never prevented

from taking the examinations, but in a few cases their papers were looked over only by one examiner instead of by two. The opportunity which was thus given to the two colleges by the courage of the Girton Committee and the kindness and goodwill of the examiners was of the greatest importance to the future career of both, since it prepared the way for their formal recognition by the University and all that was involved in this.

The examination of the women students was properly described as informal, because it was done by private arrangement, and was not authorised by any ordinance of the University; but it was conducted in each case strictly in accordance with the rules applicable to the regular candidates. The papers were done by the women in the time allotted for the men, on the same days, and as nearly as possible at the same hours, and under the supervision of an M.A. of the University.

In the actual conduct of the examination, both Girton College and the Association adhered strictly to the University regulations; but the two Committees held different views as to the necessity of insisting also on the exact fulfilment of the preliminary conditions which the University imposed on its own members. The Girton Committee exacted strict conformity with the rules laid down for undergraduate candidates. Their students, before entering for a Tripos, were required to pass the Previous Examination, and to reside at college for the precise number of terms prescribed by the University. The Lectures Association, on the other hand, required all students who wished to enter for a Tripos Examination to give evidence of general education, and expected them, as a rule, to prove this by passing the Higher Local Examinations; but it

did not require or, indeed, encourage them to take the Previous Examination, and it did not insist upon exact adherence to the rules as to terms.

The position of the Girton Committee on this question was perfectly clear and logical. They believed that it would be of great service to the cause of women's education generally if they could prove conclusively that women were capable of the same intellectual work as men, and it seemed to them that any difference in the conditions observed would weaken their case in the judgment both of the University and of the world outside.

The view taken by the Association was that it was undesirable, in the interests of the individual students concerned, to insist on the regulations enforced on undergraduates, and that this course was not necessary in order to convince the University that women were capable of the work required for the Tripos Examinations. In the first place, Mr. Sidgwick and others did not wish to encourage women to use the Previous Examination, because they disapproved of making classics compulsory either for men or women. In the second place, they knew that few of the women students had received an education which would serve as preparation for a University course; and it seemed, therefore, reasonable, and for their advantage educationally, to allow them a longer time at Cambridge before taking the final examination than was granted to undergraduates, whose previous education had been arranged with a view to a University career. No one, knowing the point from which the women students started, would suppose that the places they took in the Triposes were due to any unfair advantage in the time allowed for preparation. Some of the earlier students, and indeed some of the later ones also,

who took the Classical Tripos, began both Latin and Greek when they came to Cambridge. Those who guided the counsels of the Association were themselves members of the University, and they held that, from the University point of view, the important point was the Tripos itself, and that, in forming a judgment as to the intellectual capacity of women, the University would be influenced mainly by the result of this test, and would not, for this particular purpose, attach much weight to the preliminary conditions.

According to the plan adopted by Newnham and the Association before 1881, only the students who were capable of taking Honour courses were prepared for the Degree Examinations, and those, in most cases, only after they had obtained honours in the Higher Local. At first the number of students thus prepared was not a large proportion of the whole, and therefore the Association was chiefly occupied in providing for those who took other courses.

At the present time, when there are universities and university colleges in many parts of the country, and innumerable other opportunities of education open to women, it is possible for the Cambridge colleges to reserve themselves for those students who are able to make the best use of the advantages which Cambridge offers; but twenty years ago, those women who needed help in their studies, and could not find it at Cambridge, were likely to remain unhelped. There were, of course, then, as now, many women who were anxious to learn and to be taught, but who were not able to devote themselves for long to this one object, or to be long away from their homes or their other occupations; and, owing to the unsatisfactory state

of girls' education, those who wished to learn were at all stages of knowledge or ignorance. In order to provide adequately for all these, it was necessary to adopt a very elastic system, which could be adapted to the very various needs of the individual students. Newnham and the Association accordingly accepted and provided for many students who could only stay for two or three terms, or even less; and though most of them worked for the Higher Local Examinations, they were not required to take any examination, and no subjects were made compulsory. Each individual was advised and helped to follow the line of study which seemed to be the most likely to be profitable to her.

It was soon made evident that the opportunities thus given were fully appreciated, and really met a genuine and widespread need. I have already spoken of the rapid increase in the number of students who came from a distance to attend the lectures. In 1871 there were five, and in 1880 there were eighty-five; and the Newnham Council reported in that year that there had been two hundred and fifteen such students during the past nine years. But it was not the numbers only which were encouraging, but also the zeal and earnestness of the women students, and the benefit which they clearly received from their stay in Cambridge and their work there. Many of them intended to teach, and some had already begun work as teachers, and for these even a few months' study at the University was of great value. It could not but improve the quality of their work as teachers; and if it enabled them to pass one of the groups of the Higher Local Examination, their professional position was likely to be improved also. It was, too, no doubt, particularly

important to teachers, at this time of transition, to get some share in the new opportunities, since they were in danger of falling behind their times, and of being supplanted by younger women who had greater advantages. And besides those who needed education in order to earn their livelihood, there were many women who had been struggling to educate themselves without help and under many difficulties, and to whom this opportunity gave the keenest satisfaction.

The number of students who came to Cambridge for the lectures at this time is perhaps more striking evidence of the strong and widespread desire for learning among women, than is the larger number who came later. For, in the early years, the attractions which the women's colleges now offer, by the way, as it were,—the pleasant buildings and gardens, the social life and games,—were a much less prominent feature in the prospect. It is true that many of these things were to be found at Merton and Newnham Hall; but those who could not be taken in there—and the number of these was large—could expect nothing more attractive than a boarding-house or a lodging in an unknown town. These out-students did indeed find something more than this; for not only were they, as well as the students in the Hall, stimulated and helped by the teaching and encouraged by the interest shown in the work of each individual, but they received an amount of kindness from the ladies of the committee, and in particular from Miss Marion Kennedy, who took charge of this large flock, which would by itself have made it worth while for them to come to Cambridge.

This plan of allowing such students as could not be

lodgings in the town under the supervision of a committee of ladies, was an expedient to which the Association resorted for a few years, on account of the pressure of numbers and the difficulty of refusing to receive those who were so eager to take advantage of the opportunities offered. It was given up when the second hall at Newnham was built, and since that time only students who are over thirty years of age, or who are living with their parents or guardians, are allowed by the college rules to live outside the college; but the fact that so bold a course was followed for several years with complete success is an additional proof of the genuine zeal of these students.

The Lectures Association very soon had the satisfaction of knowing that their work was not only useful to the students themselves, but that it was helping to improve the education of girls generally. In the Report of 1880 it is stated that of the two hundred and fifteen students who have attended the lectures, fifty are teaching in schools, and that nine of these are head mistresses.

The Lectures Association was anxious to bring the lectures within the reach of women of scanty means, and especially of those who were intending to teach, and various plans for giving help were invented and carried out. For a long time, teachers were admitted to the lectures at half-price, and a fund was started to help any women who wished to come to the lectures, but could not afford to do so. After some years, when the number of students had much increased, more formal arrangements were made. The fees were no longer reduced, but first grants and then loans were made to applicants who could give evidence of their need for help and of their intellectual qualifications.

be used as a loan fund, and it is still in existence, and is constantly used. But such grants and loans were only supplementary to the help given in the form of scholarships or exhibitions which were awarded on the results of the Local Examinations. Very generous help was given for this purpose. Mr. Mill and Miss Taylor were, as I have said, the first to come forward; the Miss Ashworths of Bath (now Mrs. Ashworth Hallett and Mrs. J. K. Cross) gave an exhibition for several years; Mrs. Garrett Anderson also gave an exhibition; Mrs. Adams (the wife of Professor Adams) gave others; and many Cambridge and other friends subscribed freely to the general exhibitions fund. In 1876, too, Mr. Phillips Jodrell offered to give six exhibitions of £25 each for three years, and to lend whatever was needed, in addition, to cover the expenses of the exhibitioners at Cambridge. An appeal was made to the London Companies, and several of these responded generously. Eventually, the Clothworkers', the Drapers', and the Goldsmiths' Companies each established scholarships to the amount of £100 annually. Thus, when in 1880 the resources of the Lectures Association and the Newnham Hall Company were united, it was found that the annual value of the scholarships attached to Newnham College amounted to £600.

One of the most remarkable features in this educational movement at Cambridge is the generosity and willingness to make personal sacrifices shown by a number of persons, and especially by members of the University and residents in Cambridge. The sums of money subscribed to enable women to profit by the teaching are in themselves sufficiently striking. A number of people

splendid munificence; but what is especially noticeable in the earlier subscription lists is the fact there recorded that very considerable sums—£20, £50, or £100—were repeatedly given by persons who were certainly not rich. And Cambridge men not only gave money, they gave their time freely. The lecturers gave their teaching for quite inadequate remuneration, and often for none at all. Men whose days were already filled with work, attended at meetings of committees and councils, gave thought and attention to details of organisation, and showed real interest and desire to help the women students in every possible way. When the women students were informally admitted to the Tripos Examinations, it was necessary that the papers should be written in the presence of an M.A., and it was thought essential also that the process of transferring the papers from the examiners to the candidates and from the candidates to the examiners should be conducted by an M.A. This troublesome little business was willingly undertaken gratuitously by various friends of the movement. The first Newnham students who entered for a Tripos Examination wrote their papers under the surveillance of Dr. Kennedy at his own house, and the papers were brought to them and taken back to the examiners by Mr. Sidgwick, Mr. Alfred Marshall, Mr. James Stuart, and others. This is only one small instance out of many which might be given of the readiness on the part of members of the University to take personal trouble in order to secure the success of the experiment. The whole history is one of disinterested zeal and of active, intelligent sympathy with a genuine need, and is full of instances of kindness and generosity which cannot be told.

In looking back on the early history of Newnham

College, it seems clear that the circumstances of its origin and the lines on which it was conducted were particularly well suited to gain the sympathy of the University for the movement for the higher education of women. The work was organised and carried on mainly by residents in Cambridge, and many men of reputation and standing in the University, and men of all political parties, were keenly interested in it. It was carried on in the midst of Cambridge, under the eyes of the University, and many who were not interested before became so as they saw its work. The modesty of the enterprise was in its favour; it asked for help on plain, practical grounds, for whatever would enable women to get the education they desired, and for such certificates as were necessary to secure them the full advantages of that education. And, as I propose to show later, Miss Clough's personality had a very marked influence. It was impossible to associate her with anything unfeminine, and her character gave an assurance to all who came in contact with her, that any movement with which she was concerned would be conducted with moderation and with scrupulous consideration for the feelings of others. There can, I imagine, be no doubt that these things contributed much to the success of the whole movement, and, in particular, did much to create that goodwill which has been for many years so freely shown to women students in Cambridge.

The first period of Newnham's career may be said to have ended in February 1881, a few months after the college was formally established, for it was then that the University, by a vote of the Senate, granted to the two women's colleges the privileges which have given them the position they now hold.

This action was the result of an appeal made to the University to formally admit the women students to the degree examinations. The first step was not taken by anyone connected with either of the women's colleges, but by others who were interested in the higher education of women, and had watched from a distance what was done by the students at Cambridge. Early in 1880, a student of Girton College, Miss Charlotte Angas Scott, was informally examined for the Mathematical Tripos, and was reported by the examiners to have been equal in proficiency to the eighth Wrangler. This achievement attracted considerable attention and impressed many people. A petition to the Senate of the University was drawn up and circulated by Mr. and Mrs. Aldis of Newcastle, in the spring of 1880, and received more than 8500 signatures. This petition set forth that repeated instances of success on the part of women students in the degree examinations, "and notably an instance in connection with the last Mathematical Tripos, show that many women desire sound training in higher learning, and also desire to have the results of that training authoritatively tested and certified; that the present plan of informal examination is unsatisfactory, and that consequently the undersigned persons interested in the Higher Education of women pray the Senate of the University to give women the right of admission to the degree examinations and to degrees."

Those who were responsible for the women's colleges regarded the step thus taken with some misgiving. It seemed quite possible that the Senate might refuse the request, and when once their opinion on the subject had been definitely expressed, future examiners would probably

not feel justified in admitting the women students to the examinations informally, and the position of the colleges would be considerably worse than before. But, since the question had been raised, the Executive Committee of Girton College and the Committee of the Lectures Association also drew up memorials setting forth their respective views.

The Girton memorial begins by disclaiming all responsibility for that which has already been sent to the Vice-Chancellor, and goes on to make a statement as to the work done by the students of Girton College, telling how they have duly qualified themselves according to the University regulations for candidates for a degree, and giving the numbers of such qualified students who have been informally examined in the Ordinary and Honours Degree Examinations. The Committee then submit that by this experiment the practical working of degree examinations, as regards the students of Girton College, has been sufficiently tested to justify the University in taking their case into serious consideration, with a view to their formal admission to the B.A. degree. They conclude by stating their belief that by thus formally and officially recognising the claims of women to a share in the highest education of the time, the University would do an important public service, and would add to the gratitude and loyalty already so largely called forth by former measures in the same direction.

The memorial of the Lectures Association, which was signed and forwarded by Professor Adams, not only disclaims all connection with Mr. Aldis's memorial, but takes exception to its statements. The Lectures Committee object to the disparaging terms in which the

existing arrangement is described. They declare that, in their opinion, it has rendered an important service to the education of women at a critical period of its development, and that this service could hardly have been so easily and conveniently rendered in any other way; and they state that they have been anxious not to precipitate the termination of the provisional state of things by urging the University to any official action in the matter, until such time as it should be generally thought that their experiment had been fully tried. But since the question has been raised by others, they think it opportune to state that, in their opinion, sufficient evidence has now been obtained of the success of the scheme of academic education which they are engaged in conducting, and which has now been carried on for a period of ten years; and that they consider the existence in the country of a serious and steady demand for this education to have been completely proved. They would therefore welcome any arrangement by which the connection that has practically existed for some years between the University examinations and the academic instruction provided for women in Cambridge, may be put on a more formal and stable footing. They then give a brief explanation of the plan on which they have proceeded in recommending students to the Tripos Examiners, mentioning that, considering the actual state of the ordinary education of girls, and the influence their action might be expected to exercise on schools, they have thought it inexpedient to adopt the Previous Examination as a compulsory part of their system, and that they have also thought it undesirable to prepare candidates for the Ordinary Degree Examinations, but that on these, as on other points, they are willing to

conform to any regulations that the University authorities may think fit to lay down.

A fourth memorial was signed by one hundred and twenty-three members of the University. This expressed general approval of the measure proposed by the Lectures Association, namely, that the present arrangement should be placed on a more formal and stable footing.

In June 1880, a Syndicate was appointed to consider four memorials relating to the encouragement to be given to the Higher Education of women. In the course of the autumn eleven additional memorials were sent to the Syndicate, all following the two first in asking for the admission of women to the B.A. Degree. One of these memorials was signed by five hundred and sixty-seven non-resident members of the Senate, and the remainder were from educational bodies. The report of the Syndicate was issued in December 1880. The conclusions at which they arrived are stated as follows:—

"The Syndicate share the desire of the memorialists that the advantages of academic training may be secured to women, and that the results of such training may be authoritatively tested and certified. For various reasons, however, they are not prepared to recommend that women should be admitted either to the degrees of the University generally, or to the B.A. degree alone. They believe that the two objects above mentioned may be in a large measure attained, and a great encouragement be given to the Higher Education of women, by the formal admission of female students to the Honours Examinations of the University, together with an authoritative record of the results of their examination in published class-lists. The advantages of allowing women to enter the General and

Special Examinations for the ordinary B.A. degree, are less obvious, and the Syndicate abstain from making any recommendation on this head. They think that women admitted to the Honours Examinations should be required to have fulfilled the same conditions of residence as are imposed on members of the University, and that they should either have given the same evidence of preliminary training by passing the Previous Examination, or one of the various substitutes already accepted for it, or else should have obtained an Honours Certificate in the Higher Local Examination, with the condition of passing in certain specified groups. They propose that the University should grant to each successful candidate a certificate, setting forth the conditions under which she has been admitted to the Tripos Examinations, and the standard to which she has attained."

The Syndicate proposed to give practical effect to these conclusions by a series of regulations which were recommended for adoption by the Senate. In one of these proposed regulations it is laid down that the necessary terms of residence are to be kept by the women students at either Girton or Newnham College, or within the precincts of the University under the regulations of one of these colleges, or at any similar institution which may be recognised hereafter by the University by Grace of the Senate.

The Lectures Association had reason to be well satisfied with this report, which gave all they had asked for, and sanctioned, in all its essential parts, the practice they had hitherto followed. It was not entirely satisfactory to the other memorialists, since it did not recommend admission to the degrees; and the special regulations for women which were proposed, as to the preliminary examinations

and the exclusion from the Ordinary Degree Examinations, were regretted by those who thought it of great importance that the education of men and women should follow precisely the same lines. It was, however, recognised by all who were interested in the higher education of women, that the proposed regulations would be of great value, and included as much as could be hoped for at this time, and all were agreed in earnestly desiring that they should be accepted by the Senate.

The recommendations of the Syndicate were embodied in three Graces, and February 24, 1881, was the day fixed for the vote in the Senate. The question was discussed in the Art Schools, according to the custom of the University, about a fortnight before. It was remarkable that on this occasion, with one exception, none of the speakers opposed the principle of higher education for women; the only difference expressed was as to the means of forwarding it. A notable incident in the discussion was an eloquent and stirring speech from Dr. Kennedy, the Regius Professor of Greek, who was then considerably over seventy years old, but was one of the most ardent champions of women's education. Even the sternly official University Reporter was constrained to take the then unusual course of reporting this speech in the first person, and it is said that the members of the Senate present disregarded all the precedents of that time and applauded loudly. Dr. Kennedy ended thus: "So much do I think the true honour of our University at stake in this matter, that I could almost imitate an example once set on a memorable occasion, and beseech the Senate on my knees not to reject the Grace for confirming the recommendations of the Syndicate."

The friends of the two colleges worked zealously together in seeking out all their supporters among the non-resident members of the Senate, and urging upon them the pressing need for their help on this critical occasion. On February 16, a whip was sent to all members of the Senate who had signed memorials in favour of the admission of women to University examinations. In this it was stated that there was likely to be considerable opposition to the proposals of the Syndicate, and opposition "on grounds equally valid against any scheme which has been advocated for extending to women the advantages of education at the University," and that the rejection of these proposals would not leave women in the same position as before, but would undoubtedly involve the cessation of the existing informal system. "The occasion is, therefore, obviously a critical one for the future of female education, and the attendance and support of those members of the Senate who have signed memorials in favour of the admission of women to the University examinations is urgently required." This was signed by the following:—

J. C. Adams.	N. M. Ferrers.	John Peile.
R. D. Archer-Hind.	W. H. H. Hudson.	S. G. Phear.
W. H. Bateson.	Henry Jackson.	G. W. Prothero.
G. F. Browne.	B. H. Kennedy.	Henry Sidgwick.
Robert Burn.	G. D. Liveing.	James Stuart.
A. Cayley.	P. T. Main.	Sedley Taylor.
E. C. Clark.	J. E. B. Mayor.	Coutts Trotter.

Among the supporters of the memorial there were a considerable number of members of Parliament, and just before the day of the voting it was found that they would be needed in the House of Commons that afternoon. The anxious Committee at Cambridge therefore felt lively gratitude to one of them, Mr. John Hollond, who chartered a

special train to take them back to London directly their voting was done. Those who were opposed to the proposals were also active at first in collecting those who agreed with them, but as the time came near, it became practically certain that the Graces would be carried. It was not thought worth while to summon large numbers to no purpose, and the leaders of the opposition decided to abstain from voting. A few only were resolved to express their opinions, and thirty-two voted against the recommendations of the Syndicate, and three hundred and thirty-one in favour of them.

The Graces thus passed by the Senate were of immense importance to women's education. Till now University education for women had been in an experimental stage. Those who were concerned in organising it, and those who were sufficiently interested to watch what was being done, considered it to be proved that a large number of women desired it and were capable of profiting by it, but beyond this circle it was looked upon as an unpractical fancy, never likely to affect more than a small number of eccentric women. But the sanction of the Senate of Cambridge University gave an assurance that what had been done was serious and was permanent, and the recognition of the colleges brought them support and respect from new quarters.

It was an immense step gained that it should formally be acknowledged by one of the great Universities that women were capable of the studies needed for those examinations by which the ablest men of each University generation were tested, and the example set by Cambridge made the other teaching Universities[1] more ready to give

[1] The University of London had already, in 1878, opened all its degrees to women.

facilities to women. The immediate practical results to the women students were important. They were now certain of being admitted to the examinations for which they were preparing, and if they were successful, they obtained a certificate signed by the Vice-Chancellor of the University, which, of course, carried far greater weight than a college certificate or an informal letter from an individual examiner. The advantage gained for the higher education of women affected also the education of girls in schools. The obvious value of the Vice-Chancellor's certificate caused University-trained teachers to be more sought after by the directors of schools; it became generally recognised that a college course was the best preparation for the profession of teaching, the numbers of such teachers increased, and through their influence the standard of girls' education was raised. It is true that by adopting the recommendations of the Syndicate, the University did not undertake to do more than examine the properly qualified students of Girton and Newnham, and that these students were still dependent on the courtesy of individual professors and lecturers, University and college authorities, for admission to lectures, libraries, and laboratories; but, as a fact, so much kindness and courtesy was shown, that, except in a few special cases they had all the practical advantages which are enjoyed by undergraduate members of the University.

CHAPTER VII

LIFE AND WORK AT NEWNHAM COLLEGE—1871-1892

I HAVE now given the outward history of Newnham up to the time when it ceased to be an experiment, and acquired an established position.

In the two following chapters I propose to give an account of Miss Clough's work at Newnham, and of the chief interests and occupations of her life after she came to Cambridge.

It seemed as if the undertaking in which she was now to be engaged was the opportunity for which she had been waiting and watching all her life. She herself looked upon it as the fulfilment of her desires, and once said to a friend, who was impatient for happiness, "I had to wait for mine till I was fifty." It was only now, in the last twenty years of her life, and in her work at Newnham, that her peculiar powers and the striking points of her character were fully revealed. And it is only by describing, as far as I can, what she was, and now showed herself to be, that it is possible to give any account of her work, and of the causes of her success in it. For this success was due to the way in which she did a multitude of little things, to the spirit which she infused into the whole movement, and to the deep impression made by her character upon all with whom she came in contact.

Professor Sidgwick has kindly given me an explana-

tion of the reasons which made him particularly anxious to secure Miss Clough's help in carrying on the work which he had begun in Cambridge, and of the point of view from which, as it seemed to him, the undertaking specially appealed to her. Professor Sidgwick says:—

"When, in accordance with the general plan formed in 1870 for developing the system of lectures for women in Cambridge, it became necessary to find a lady to preside over the house destined to receive 'external students,' my first idea was to ask Miss Clough; and though her refusal for a time turned my thoughts into other directions, I never doubted that her acceptance of the post would be the best possible thing for the new institution; and when she finally accepted, I had a great sense of satisfaction and confidence with regard to the future. My desire for her co-operation was partly on account of her long devotion to the improvement of the education of women; but it was partly due to the fact that I thought she would be in special sympathy with the plan on which I wished the work at Cambridge to be conducted."

Professor Sidgwick then explains his wish to obtain for women full participation in all the benefits of University education without imposing on girls a servile imitation of the system carried on in the secondary education for boys; and his consequent preference for the plan of working on the basis of the Higher Local Examination. He continues: "I believed that this plan would be in close accordance with Miss Clough's views, and my expectations in this respect were completely realised. While desiring, with a quiet intensity, which I gradually came to understand, to throw open the advantages of University education to women without limit or reserve, she cordially welcomed

the new examination, with its liberal scheme of options, as adapted to the actual condition of girls. She saw that the adoption of this as our preliminary examination would establish a vital connection between the work done in Cambridge and the work done throughout England under the influence of the University; and the idea that this new local examination, while benefiting the education of girls throughout the country, might, at the same time, be a means of selecting the most promising students from the country at large, and providing them with a complete academic training, gave her special pleasure. She also thought that the experience gained by Cambridge teachers as to the effects of the course of study practically prescribed or encouraged by this examination would be easily made accessible to the Syndicate managing the examination, and would lead to improvements in it, the advantage of which would accrue to a wider circle."

When she came to Cambridge in the early autumn of 1871, Miss Clough at once took her place in the little band of Cambridge people who had now for nearly two years been carrying on the work of the lectures scheme.

She was made a member of the Executive Committee of the Lectures Association, and was later one of the Ladies' Committee in charge of the students living in lodgings. But her main work was, of course, the management of the hall of residence, and it was in the internal life there that her influence was chiefly felt. The success of the hall was indispensable to the full development of the lectures scheme, and the task of making it succeed was at first a difficult and anxious one.

The girls who were under Miss Clough's charge during the first year were most of them unknown to her, they

NEWNHAM COLLEGE IN 1895.

were not of the age nor in the position of schoolgirls, and her authority over them was not defined either by tradition or by any constitution. And yet she and they had to carry out together an experiment, on the success of which depended the retention and development of valuable opportunities for women, and to carry it out in the midst of Cambridge, and in the sight of many who would watch it critically and disapprovingly.

Many people in the University disapproved strongly of the presence of women students in Cambridge, and probably most people looked upon them with some suspicion. If any inconvenience followed from their being there, or if any individual among them deviated in the slightest degree from the ordinary standards of society, it would be considered as a complete justification of this attitude. There was, of course, also a widely diffused prejudice against all women who desired opportunities of obtaining higher learning. Such learning was thought to be incompatible with the qualities most valued in women, and the desire for it was supposed to be inseparable from revolutionary views on other subjects.

Miss Clough was keenly alive to these things, and she felt that the greatest caution and circumspection were necessary, in order that the newly acquired privileges might not be lost again. She was determined that they should be used with the most careful regard for other people's feelings, and that education should be kept quite apart from other questions and causes, and she meant to show that a desire for education, and even the possession of it, did not involve any departure from recognised customs and conventions. These considerations were constantly before her mind, and made her nervously

anxious about every detail in the conduct of the women students.

The early students were not unworthy of the occasion and not without some understanding of the situation. They had, in the first place, a genuine desire for learning, and they felt it was for them to prove that they were not frivolous triflers. They appreciated the value of the teaching that was offered to them, and meant to show that they could profit by it. They realised, too, that the occasion was a critical one, and that much was at stake, and they were not unwilling to make sacrifices. But they were most of them old enough to have already tasted some amount of liberty, and there were some among them who, not unnaturally, thought that they could judge for themselves what it was or was not well to do, and who consequently saw no necessity for Miss Clough's supervision of their doings, and were not disposed to submit to her authority. Nor was Miss Clough possessed of precisely those qualities which were likely to make an immediate impression on girls in this stage of development. She was not learned, and her way of talking was rather confused, and she seemed to them to be fussy and nervous, and inclined to interfere unnecessarily with what they chose to do. Miss Clough herself said afterwards that she had had much to learn at this time, and she certainly made mistakes at first, and was not skilful in dealing with the students. The difficulties of the situation were aggravated during the first year by the fact that this chance assorted family had to live in close quarters in a house in a street and without a garden. Naturally this year was a troublous one.

Mrs. Alfred Marshall, who was one of these first

students, and afterwards one of Miss Clough's dearest friends, has given me her recollections of Miss Clough and of their life at this time. She says:—

"The first time I saw Miss Clough was at the Higher Local Examination of 1871, when her white hair and dark eyes and kindly ways made a deep impression on me. Her appearance and manners converted my father to the plan of my going to Cambridge, to which, before he saw her, he had been averse.

"In October 1871, Mary Kennedy, Ella Bulley, Edith Creak, Annie Migault, and I came to be with her at 74 Regent Street, and in the following term we were joined by Felicia Larner, and one or two others. We lived very much the life of a family: we studied together, we had our meals at one table, and in the evening we usually sat with Miss Clough in her sitting-room. We did our best to keep down household expenses: our food was very simple; we all, including Miss Clough, not only made our beds and dusted our rooms, but we helped to wash up after meals, and we did the domestic sewing in the evening.

"During that first year at Regent Street there were certain discomforts to be put up with. We went twice a week to the town gymnasium, but otherwise walks were our only form of exercise. We watched the undergraduates playing games on Parker's Piece, and envied them, and no doubt we made up for want of outdoor exercise by being rather noisy in the house, especially at meals. I believe we were all hard-working and well-intentioned, but during that first year there was a good deal of friction between Miss Clough and some of us. I think we were almost entirely to blame, and I never cease to be astonished at

our want of appreciation in those days. We did not really understand her at all. I believe if she had had more weaknesses and limitations, we should have liked her better. We failed to see the great outlines of her character, her selflessness, her strong purpose, her extraordinary sympathy. She had some obvious faults of manner, and these we did see and probably exaggerated. She did not dress well or walk well, and she had a certain timidity and irresoluteness.

"The venture of women's education in Cambridge was a new one: she was, I think, a little afraid of us, and did not know what we might do next. She had not had much to do with girls of our age before, and perhaps she treated us too much like schoolgirls. She did not quite enter into our notions of fun; perhaps she took things a little too seriously, and so she did not gain our full confidence in those early days.

"And, then, we lived too much together. I believe we should have appreciated her more if we had not been obliged to be so constantly with her. One has to see persons from a distance as well as near to appreciate them. When we moved to Merton Hall in October 1872, everything went better. . . . We had several tables for meals; she had her own room; when we were together, it was from choice, not from necessity. We got into the habit of studying in our own rooms. We had a delightful garden, and games and more amusements, and we began to understand her better and the privilege of living with her. But it was not till I ceased to be a student that I realised her wonderful goodness and greatness."

After the first year it seems that Miss Clough's

authority was to some extent defined by rules. She consented to this, and to a plan of life which was less like that of a family, because the students strongly desired it, but she did so with regret. Another student of this time tells me that in her opinion Miss Clough's management during the first year was not satisfactory, but that what remains most vividly impressed upon her mind in connection with it is the wonderful magnanimity which Miss Clough showed in wiping out all remembrance of past differences and accepting the new state of things without any sign of dissatisfaction.

The students of this time perhaps hardly realised Miss Clough's devotion to their interests and the interests of this new undertaking. They knew and appreciated the sacrifices of time and labour made for them by their lecturers, for Miss Clough would not allow them to be ignorant of these things, and they heard, too, from her that Mr. Sidgwick had given up his holiday in Switzerland in order to meet the expenses of the house of residence which he had established, and understood something of what they owed to him. But they probably did not know that she also was giving her money freely, as well as her time and energy, to provide them with the opportunities which they enjoyed. It must be said that though some of these early students did not appreciate Miss Clough at first, they came to know her better before long, and were for the rest of her life among her warmest friends; while she, on her side, felt that their experiences together created a tie between them, and had always a quite special affection for them. It is noticeable that some of the characteristics which injured Miss Clough in the esteem of the students were a distinct advantage to

her in her relations with the critical world outside, and smoothed the path for her enterprise in Cambridge. Her appearance was at anyrate unimpeachably feminine, and her timid, hesitating manner dispelled all idea of the "capable woman" who is an object of antipathy to many.

Many years later Miss Clough wrote down some reminiscences of the next two years, 1872–1874, from which I give the following extracts:—

"I had decided that we must leave 74 Regent Street. The noise was too great both back and front, and we were too much in public. I looked about, and found Merton Hall, and there, in the autumn, we moved. (I think that when we moved some friends helped, Mrs. Bonham Carter of Ravensbourne for one; Mr. Sidgwick was always most kind and helpful. The first year he paid the rent, and bought the furniture to start with.) The new house was old and picturesque, with a lovely garden, but the students' rooms were very poor; several had to share rooms. The garden seemed to make up for all, and the quiet. We were shut in from Cambridge in a corner among trees and shrubs and creeping plants, which bowered us all round. Our sitting-rooms opened on the garden. What did it matter, if now and then, in very heavy rains, there came a rush of water through the dining-room?

"Now our plans were altered, for it seemed desirable to be more collegiate. The family life must be at an end, so I submitted to what seemed a necessity. Several small tables were started in the dining-room, but I always kept one companion with me. I think Miss Fanny Hutchins came to stay with us in the Lent term, and helped me very much. Minnie Hensley was ill, and a great cause of anxiety.

"There was much going out to St. John's College, to the Batesons, and pleasant parties there, and there were Sunday evening visits to Mr. Marshall's and Mr. Hudson's rooms; also we visited the Kennedys at the Elms, and went to Mrs. Peile, and sometimes to the Venns and the Adamses; and we made acquaintance with Mr. Main. We had parties two or three times a term, and we met odd people now and then. A professor from Western America came with his wife to Cambridge, and Mr. Marshall invited us to meet them. The lady was a lawyer, and told us about her practice, and how she spoke in court. She was very sweet-looking and quiet in her ways. Mr. Sidgwick brought people to the house occasionally, among them Mr. A. J. Balfour; I think he came twice. Mr. Venn, too, rode sometimes with the students; he took them to the Fens. The Miss Kennedys were constantly very good to us, and Dr. Kennedy.

"In October, a great many students applied to enter. I ventured to take No. 7 Trumpington Street, and Fanny Hutchins kindly took charge of the house. But this was not enough, for two went to live with Mrs. Potts in the October term, and four in the Lent term, and Miss Nunn and Miss Ogle were in lodgings. I had great support from Fanny Hutchins.

"The garden was a great resource in the May term, very beautiful and luxuriant. There was the trailing *Pyrus japonica* about the arbour. The girls played under the trees: they tried croquet and cricket; they happily could not do cricket. They had debates under the great medlar tree, and some went rides. Their life was a joy to them, but they did work. Amy Bulley and Mary Paley and Mary Kennedy were working at the Moral Science

Tripos, Miss Creak and Miss Vokins at Mathematics; Miss Creak also at Classics.

"These two years were wonderfully bright and exciting, full of movement and change. There were a great variety of students with Merton and the other house in Trumpington Street. The St. John's Fellows named it Sandford, so we were Sandford and Merton, Miss Hutchins and I. Then there were the students who lived in lodgings to be attended to, among them Miss Ogle, who was very interesting and very industrious. She was looked after by Miss Hutchins, I looked after Miss Emily Nunn. She formed a great friendship with Mrs. Smith (the widow of William Smith, who came to spend some time in Cambridge), and this was a great pleasure to her.

"There were many complications. The young people were feeling their freedom, and they wanted a little more. They agreed fairly; but still there were feuds in a mild way sometimes. And for the managers there were constant difficulties. It was as if one was picking one's way with all this large party. There was a faint path, but as we walked, I felt that the path closed up behind us, the leader could not go back, what was done was accomplished. So one had to be very wary, very careful. They were anxious years, but one did not feel them very much, for so many kind friends were around. There was so much sympathy, so much help, and the young people were willing for the most part to be led. Their great interest in their studies, their anxieties about the examinations, the feeling that so much was being done for them, their reverence and respect for their teachers, all united to keep them steady.

"In looking back, it seems to me that one of the great things I have to be thankful for was that I was able to

be very silent about what happened. Many difficulties were constantly arising about society matters and the conduct of the students, but I was for the most part silent, and did not either speak or write about these matters; so they passed over. There was always a great deal to like in the students, I may say in every one, and in those days one could know them, one's mind was not filled up with the photographs of those who had gone, as is the case now. [There was] the pleasure, too, of living in Cambridge, of daily walking over the bridges and among the bowering gardens, the visits to the races, the watching the sunsets over the river on those festive occasions; they stay in the memories of all who belonged to us in our early years. . . .

"At this time we had to look forward to leaving Merton Hall in October, and had to find a new house. There was great agitation about building a new Hall. Mr. Sidgwick worked hard, and the Batesons and the Kennedys. Miss Ewart promised a thousand pounds, other friends joined and a Company was started, which, with the help of donations, was to undertake the building of the new Hall. We hoped at one time that we might remain in our sacred precincts, close to the school of Pythagoras, where the ancient monks from Ely had taught, but the Hall and garden were let, and we were obliged to depart. So the fairy college, with its rambling rooms, its doors and windows leading into the garden, the old orchard covered with blossoms in spring, the long shady walks and arbours, the medlar tree under whose shade the students held their debates, were all deserted.

"With much difficulty a new house was found for the college in Bateman Street; two newly-built houses were

secured. They were close to Dr. Kennedy at the Elms, and we saw much of him and the Miss Kennedys. We had the advantage, too, of being near the Botanical Gardens. While here, Mary Paley and Amy Bulley went in for the Moral Sciences Tripos. They had the papers, and they went to the Elms and wrote under the care of Dr. Kennedy. It was an exciting, anxious time. We heard at last, just before they left, that Mary Paley had been placed in the First Class by two of the examiners, and in the Second by the other two. Amy Bulley had a Second Class."

By the end of the two years spent at Merton Hall, Miss Clough had fully established her authority, and had won the respect and affection of most of the students; and as time went on, more and more of them came to understand her in some measure, and to appreciate some of the remarkable points in her character.

The year in the Bateman Street houses was probably uncomfortable for everyone, and was certainly laborious to Miss Clough; for, besides attending to all that concerned the present students and corresponding with future ones, she had to superintend the building and furnishing of the new Hall and the laying out of the garden.

There was the usual difficulty in getting the building finished by the appointed time, and this difficulty was increased at the end by a strike among the workmen employed on it. Miss Clough treated this obstacle as she treated all others, merely as an occasion for showing energy and resource. With characteristic indifference to general principles and established customs, she went to the builders and obtained permission to deal directly with the men on strike, and then proposed to the men that she

should herself pay the difference of wages which was the cause of dispute. The men accepted the offer, went to work again, and with a great effort the house was made ready in time.

When they were once established in Newnham Hall, Miss Clough and her students found themselves in very pleasant circumstances. They had now a good dining-hall, a library and other sitting-rooms for the students, and the students' own rooms were nearly all of them pleasant and convenient. Each student had a room to herself, which was furnished so as to serve both as study and bedroom, and the common sitting-rooms were always available. They had fires in their rooms when they liked,—Miss Clough once said she thought the reason girls liked being at Newnham was that they had fires in their rooms,—and they could and did see one another and give tea-parties and cocoa-parties among themselves freely.

Wide passages ran the length of the house on each of the four floors, and made it light and airy. I believe it was at Miss Clough's desire that the passages on the upper floors ran quite through the house, and were lighted by a window at each end. There was a nice view each way, across the garden and to the open country to the west, and over other gardens and trees to the towers and spires of Cambridge a little below to the east. Miss Clough took particular pleasure in these views, and said it was cheering to look out as one walked about the passages. Her own room was picturesque and attractive, and she became much attached to it. There, too, she had the sunset view, which was her special delight.

The Hall was well placed. It was less than a mile from the centre of the University, but at that time it

was the outermost house in that direction, and beyond it to the west there were only fields and gardens. There was at that time a garden of two acres, which gave space for lawn tennis on the grass, and a little later a gymnasium was built and an ash tennis-court made, so that the students had now plenty of opportunities for exercise. Miss Clough took a deep interest in the laying out of the garden, in which she was helped and guided by Mr. Peile and, I think, also by Dr. Venn. She watched over the trees with great anxiety, and had a special regard for a medlar tree, planted in remembrance of Merton Hall.

When Newnham Hall was opened, one of Miss Clough's first five students, Miss Paley (Mrs. Alfred Marshall), was appointed a lecturer in Political Economy by the Lectures Association, and came to reside in the Hall, and help in the care of the students. This was an immense pleasure to Miss Clough, and she needed help in her work.

In these early years her work was heavy. It was, for one thing, very miscellaneous. She had the general supervision of the students, which included the care of their health, and some work in taking them to entertainments and special lectures. Miss Alice Gardner, who was a student of Newnham in 1876, mentions, for instance, that when inter-collegiate lectures were first opened to women, Miss Clough accompanied some of the students as chaperon to a course of lectures which were given three times a week, at eleven in the morning, during an exceptionally rainy term. Miss Gardner adds: "Of course she did not let this seem to be an act of self-denial; she was so much interested in Roman history, and it was nice for her to hear lectures on it again." She

had the management of the household without help till 1876, and never wholly gave it up, and she took a large part in the arrangement of the students' work.

The time and trouble required for this last can best be shown by describing the way in which it is organised at the present time.

There is now an Educational Committee, whose chief function is to see that all necessary teaching is provided. The Principal — who is not now, as Miss Clough was, in charge of a Hall—represents this Committee in all matters of ordinary routine; and there is a lecturer, usually resident, in charge of each branch of study. The Principal and these lecturers between them make all arrangements as to the work of each student, the lectures to be attended, the finding of teachers, and the time and place of the lectures. The Vice-Principals in charge of the halls know what arrangements have been made, and what work each of their students is doing, and are constantly consulted by both students and lecturers as to the best course of study for particular individuals, but the actual work of arranging about the teaching very seldom falls to them.

All the work which is now divided in this way was in the early years done by Miss Clough in consultation with Mr. Sidgwick, though, of course, for a much smaller number of students. Miss Clough talked over each student's work with her, and when it was decided what course she should follow, procured advice for her from one of the lecturers, settled what lectures she should attend, and if special teaching was required, made the necessary arrangements for it. Mr. Sidgwick took a large share in this. He discussed their work with many of

the students, gave advice about nearly all, and found the lecturers required.

At the present time, too, the organisation of the work is in many ways easier. Nine out of ten of the students are taking a perfectly regular course of study, which has been foreseen and provided for, a number of them are working at each branch, and the experience of many years has made the way clear in most cases. In those days few students were working at the same subject and at the same stage of it; the students who worked for the Higher Local Examinations took many different combinations of subjects, and the best plans had to be slowly discovered by experience.

For a long time, also, there was a great deal of business to be done. Before the Newnham Hall Company was started, Miss Clough did all the secretarial work connected with the house of residence, and all the business involved in moving from one house to another. After the Company was formed, Miss Marion Kennedy became Honorary Secretary, and Miss Alice Bonham Carter Honorary Treasurer. But Miss Clough still did a great deal of correspondence with the future students, and naturally had much to do with the choosing and taking of the land and the building of the Hall. And, too, the necessity of appealing to the public for money involved an immense amount of letter-writing, besides the visits to Liverpool and Birmingham.

Miss Clough's work was much lightened by the help and sympathy of those who were interested in the undertaking. She got the greatest pleasure and support from her intimate friendships with several of her fellow-workers, with the Miss Kennedys, who gave her counsel and

practical help at every turn, and with Professor and Mrs. Adams, and Dr. and Mrs. Peile. Mr. Coutts Trotter, Tutor and afterwards Vice-Master of Trinity College, was one of her most valued friends. He was Chairman of the Newnham Hall Company, and then Vice-President of Newnham College. He was also a member of the General Committee which transacts most of the executive business of the college, and gave most valuable help and advice in a number of matters, both small and great. And from 1876 onwards Mrs. Sidgwick took an active part in all the work of the college.

For many years there was constant anxiety about money, and the need of strict economy added to the labour and difficulty of the whole undertaking. The number of students wishing to enter college increased rapidly, Miss Clough and the Council were anxious to make the new opportunities accessible to as many as possible, and consequently there were few years in which some addition to the building was not in progress, and money had to be saved, as well as collected, to pay for these additions.

The general educational policy pursued by the Council of Newnham Hall, or, rather, by the Lectures Association, had been determined before Miss Clough came to Cambridge, and she was for the most part occupied in carrying out principles which had been laid down by others, but in some points her views had a material influence upon the course taken. Professor Sidgwick writes that it was under her influence that "the freedom of choice which our plan of examinations would in any case have allowed was extended in the early days of the institution further than I had originally intended, and

further than I was at first inclined to approve. She wished every student to learn what was good for her, whether her studies led to a University examination or not; and if the studies aimed at a Tripos examination, she would allow the period of study to be prolonged beyond the normal time, provided the teachers thought that the prolongation would be an intellectual advantage to the student. I remember feeling somewhat doubtful about this irregularity, but she held strongly that at this early stage the one thing was to do what was best for the individual students, and make the most of our 'unchartered freedom' for this end. The great point was to show that young women could and would work steadily at the subjects of academic study till they had mastered them, and that—especially considering the imperfections of girls' education—we were likely to show this better if we hampered ourselves and them as little as possible by restrictive conditions. The one condition which she desired to maintain was that the student should be adequately intelligent and industrious. And here again I used to think her sympathies with individuals were operative on the side of the teachers. She felt strongly the kindness of the college lecturers and other friends who gave time and trouble — often for very inadequate remuneration—to the teaching of our students, and was sincerely anxious that their efforts should not be wasted. In all this I ultimately came to think her policy was quite right in this initial and tentative stage of our work."

Of all the characteristics which shaped and influenced Miss Clough's work at Newnham, the most obvious and the most generally recognised was her kindness. I have already said that at all times of her life it was the quality

in her of which people spoke first, but there was now such scope for its exercise that the remarkable elements in it were more clearly perceived. It was closely connected with her inexhaustible interest in human beings, and with her power of taking every single human being as an individual. She seemed able to care for an unlimited number of people, and no one was ever to her merely a member of a class, a student, or a servant, or a colleague—they were simply A or B or C; and it seemed as if each were as distinct in her mind and almost as important in her eyes as in their own. She was genuinely and keenly interested in their lives, and realised their circumstances and feelings vividly, and therefore her active mind was always devising ways in which they could be helped and made happier; and she showed to innumerable people the sort of tender, understanding kindness which only a few people can show to more than a few.

This kindness was undoubtedly one of the chief causes of the impression made by Miss Clough's character, but it is exceedingly difficult to give any description of it which will adequately account for that impression. It showed itself for the most part in little services and signs of sympathy which were slight and unimportant in themselves; but these little things were characterised in her by a rare thoughtfulness and delicacy of perception, and only an unusually rich and generous nature could have poured out kindly feeling so lavishly on hundreds, and on many whose only claim on her was that they were human beings. It seemed that kindness in her was not, as in some natures, like abundant streams of water flowing in particular channels, but rather like the light, flooding every corner from which it is not excluded. And yet, though there

was in her an impulse of kindliness towards every human being, she was not undiscriminating; she did not regard them all as equal in value, or fail to recognise merit and demerit, and to show discernment in her likings.

The character of her kindness towards her students can best be shown by a few examples. One of them writes the following recollections of her time at college:—

"Throughout the whole period I was suffering from the result of a previous mental strain, which made work practically impossible. I do not know whether Miss Clough understood the keen disappointment and consequent depression from which I was suffering (I had come up in the hope that after a year's rest I should be well enough to work, and perhaps take the Mathematical Tripos); she could not have done so fully, for it was a point as to which I was too wretchedly sensitive to speak much to anyone, but with her quick sympathy and unerring tact she did the utmost she could for me. I had a good deal of unemployed time on my hands, and her consideration led her often to ask me to do little things, such as gathering and arranging flowers, taking messages, and so on, for her. It was always a great pleasure to me to be of use in such small ways, especially as these opportunities necessarily brought me into personal contact with Miss Clough; and I need not say that the more one saw of her in the little ordinary ways of life, the deeper became one's sense of her absolute unselfishness and devotion.

"The wonderful faculty of personal interest in others, which Miss Clough possessed, is almost too well worn a subject, but as it was one of the characteristics which impressed me most, I must say a word or two. So far as my own personal experience goes, it was unique. There

was nothing of condescension in it, nothing of curiosity; it was simple, unaffected, unobtrusive kindness and sympathy. There was nothing one was interested in that did not interest her, no detail of one's personal or family life that she was not pleased to hear about. I well remember how she used to inquire about my mother and father and sisters and brother, and how she used to recollect what I had told her about them, and was always ready to take up the subject of my personal concerns just where we had left it. What strikes me now, as I think of this, is, how exceedingly natural it all was. There was obviously no effort or constraint about it. She never had to pull herself together, as it were, to try to make others feel at home with her, or to make the attempt to interest herself in them. It was the ease and the graciousness with which it was done that constituted its greatest charm.

"The same genuine disinterested kindness marked her practical everyday life, in deeds and words alike. She never seemed to forget the wants of anyone in the house, and where a special need existed, was always ready with kindly acts of attention. One did not, indeed, require to be in the house to be the object of her thoughtful care. I remember, the term I was away through ill-health, how kind she was in thinking over my prospects, and what would be the best for me to do,—whether I should be wise to return the next term, or whether it would not be better to degrade for a year and try to get some light occupation, if I were fit for it, and so on,—taking as much interest in these concerns of mine as though she had not a houseful of students, besides other friends, whose necessities were also absorbing her. Very well, too, do I

recollect her kindness during that last sad term when I lost my mother. As soon as I could conveniently leave home, Miss Clough arranged for me to spend a month in Derbyshire with a most charming and attractive lady, a dear friend of hers, Miss Julia Smith. I have a letter, addressed to me at Lea Hurst, in which she writes, in her quiet, straightforward, unaffected way, of the great change which had come over me and my family, and ends: 'You have still many around you to live for and to cheer, and the memories of the past will be a help to you.' The morning when, as a student at least, I took my final leave of Newnham, lives very distinctly in my recollection. I left by an early train,—it must have been before eight o'clock, for Miss Clough had not finished dressing,—and I said good-bye to her in her room. I well remember her words, 'We shall not forget one another,' and I still have among my treasures a little Japanese box she gave me then, saying it would do to keep my brooches in."

Another student, who did not live in Miss Clough's Hall, sends me an account of her acquaintance with her, which is very characteristic.

She says: "I was in the North Hall, but the South Hall students came over sometimes in the evenings to dance, and I very often played the piano for them on these occasions. Miss Clough, I suppose, saw one student playing often and dancing little, and with her usual kindness, she insisted one evening on someone else playing and my dancing. She asked me, too, to come to luncheon or dinner with her and have a talk. I went, of course, and found her full of interest in all I was doing, and in my past life, and in all my affairs and friends. In fact, when I left her, I felt as though I had been talking to an

old friend. I often saw her during the year I spent at Cambridge, and she always took the keenest interest in my work.

"There was a question raised as to whether I should go abroad or remain another year at Newnham. Both Miss Clough and Miss Gladstone advised me to go to Germany and study German and music, as in all probability I should never get through the mathematics required for a Tripos examination. I cannot tell you how good Miss Clough was, and how much trouble she took for me at that time. She wrote to friends of hers in Berlin to find me suitable rooms and good teaching, and I have to thank her friends in Berlin for all my happiness in Germany. . . . From the time I first knew Miss Clough she constantly wrote to me most kind, sympathetic letters, and asked me often to stay with her. This I was only able to do once, but it is a delightful memory."

Another student tells the following incident: "I was one of those who stayed at the Old Hall (in which Miss Clough was then living) when we all were up on the occasion of the opening of the new buildings, and was obliged to leave by a very early train the next morning. Miss Clough, who was quite tired out herself, was rather troubled at having to make one of the servants get up to bring me breakfast, and made her promise that she would go to bed again afterwards and get a good rest. But before eight o'clock there was a knock at my door, and there stood Miss Clough herself, with a little basket of strawberries in her hand, and she said, 'My dear, I thought it would be nice for you to have some strawberries for your journey, so I just came up to bring you some.'"

And another says: "A friend of mine was in trouble because she had no money to pay the fees for her last year at college, so she explained matters to Miss Clough, who very graciously lent her the money. Meeting her a few days later with me, Miss Clough called her aside, and asked her if she had any pocket-money to go on with, saying she hoped she was not prevented from having her little tea-parties."

And another little story illustrates Miss Clough's keen observation, as well as her thoughtfulness. She had noticed that one of the students, rather lately come, had not yet made friends with any of the others. A party of students, and this girl among them, were going to some entertainment. Miss Clough called aside one of them, who she knew would be kind and helpful, and said, "My dear, perhaps you will be walking down with Miss A., as I expect the others will have paired off."

She had an extraordinarily tenacious memory for people. She never forgot her students, and her interest in them never flagged. They knew that, however seldom she saw them, she cared about their work and all their concerns "just as if she had no one else to think about," and that she would always be glad to see them, or to hear news of them.

The way in which she remembered their families and friends, their tastes and habits, became almost a joke. One amusing little story which illustrates this is given by Mrs. James Ward, a former student and lecturer of Newnham, in an article on Miss Clough published in the *Journal of Education* in 1892. Mrs. Ward says: "A few months ago a student of eleven years back was on a visit at the college. Coming down in the morning at the

usual time for breakfast, she was met by Miss Clough, with a surprised and disappointed face. 'Why, my dear,' she exclaimed, 'you *always* used to be late for breakfast' (this, no doubt, in the old days, had been something of a grievance), 'so I told them to keep so and so' (things the girl had preferred) 'hot for you till nine o'clock.'"

Almost everyone who knew her has some story of how Miss Clough inquired after all their brothers and sisters, and sometimes their nephews and nieces, by name, and knew exactly what each had been doing when she last heard of them. Miss Creak, one of her first five students, mentions, for instance, how, when she last saw Miss Clough in 1891, she asked, not only after her mother, but after her brother, whom she had not seen since 1874, and after his children, whom she had never seen. She was not only pleased to hear about her students' relations, she often made plans for their future careers, and laid out a course in life for brothers and sisters that she had never seen. On one occasion, when she became acquainted with the brother of one of her students, she made up her mind that he ought to go abroad, and years afterwards, when she saw this student again, she asked if her brother had gone abroad yet. It seemed as if she looked upon the relations and friends of her friends as a welcome addition to the circle of those in whom she was interested.

Her taste was catholic, and her interest and sympathy were extended to the most different types of character. She found something to say for the most opposite qualities, and, as Mrs. Ward says, "she would tolerate one who was indolent, on the ground that she had æsthetic tastes and was musical, and another who was narrow and dogmatic, on the ground that she had plenty of energy." She was

skilful in finding out what was likable and interesting in people, and made many valuable discoveries in what seemed the most unpromising material. She would unearth all sorts of tastes and aptitudes; one girl would be found to be an enthusiast for flowers, and another, who looked particularly severe and dry, had a gift for managing children, and shy, reserved girls would show unsuspected enthusiasm in talking to her of their work at classics or science, or whatever it might be. And many people were made happier by her recognition of what was good in them, and by the encouragement which enabled them to discover and employ their faculties. She took many considerations into account, too, in judging of character, and estimated things at their true value. I remember on one occasion hearing someone, in her presence, pour ridicule on an unfortunate girl who had made herself absurd by extravagant æstheticism both in dress and speech. Miss Clough said nothing, but she told me afterwards that this girl had come from an uncultivated home and surroundings, and that her first introduction to ideas of culture had, for the moment, intoxicated her, and led her into extremes.

Everyone knew that she liked some students better than others, and some students were much more intimate with her than others. But it was always clear that she knew a great deal about everyone by her own observation, and I do not think anyone felt themselves overlooked, or accused her of favouritism. The very few who were aware that she did not like them, no doubt thought her unappreciative, but they did not think her unjust. The fact that she had preferences only gave a more human and natural character to her relations with them. And she

was on intimate terms with so many, that those who did not know her well themselves, were almost sure to know her through their friends.

It was difficult to say whom she would like, or rather whom she would not like, and very different views were held as to the qualities likely to attract her. She astonished, and sometimes annoyed, the more brilliant and distinguished students by the attentions she would bestow on those whom they thought dull, stupid, and insignificant, and some of them held that these characteristics had a special attraction for her. Others were clear that she was particularly drawn to those who were pretty and charming, and were amusing to talk to. She herself once said that she thought she liked those students best who gave her the most trouble, and I knew of one student who heartily wished she knew how to be troublesome, in order to get better acquainted with Miss Clough. She meant, I think, that those who gave her trouble gave her also the opportunity of getting to know them well, and of learning to understand their problems, and often also of helping them, and all these things were her particular pleasure. She disliked rough, brusque manners; but she was tolerant of this, and of many other faults, when she thought they were the result of circumstances. She disliked people who seemed very sure of themselves, and those whom she thought hard, and she had a difficulty in sympathising with people possessed by one idea. But when once her affection and respect had been won, she had infinite patience with almost any faults.

From the beginning, Miss Clough threw her whole heart into her new life, gave herself to it without reserve, and made the college her home. She shared in the

students' lives, and hardly anything went on which she did not know about and take an interest in. She joined in the students' debates, and talked over the subjects discussed as eagerly as anyone; she followed the fortunes of the smaller college societies, and sometimes attended their meetings; and she warmly supported and encouraged the games. It was her doing that hockey was introduced at Newnham in 1891. She set her mind upon it because she said it would keep the girls warm in winter; and she got hold of those who knew about the game and discussed the organisation of it, and roused interest by talking of it with one and another at every opportunity.

Miss Hughes, the Principal of the Cambridge Training College, was one of Miss Clough's students, and while at college, she and one or two friends, started a Sunday school for working men in a poor part of Cambridge. In an account of Miss Clough, written for the *Educational Review*, Miss Hughes says, with reference to this undertaking: "One of the originators of the scheme went to tell Miss Clough about the experiment, and was quite taken aback at the keen interest that Miss Clough at once showed in the matter. She suggested improvements, helped the movement in many ways, and was always interested to hear about individual members of the class. It is a pleasant memory for those who first started the school to recall Miss Clough's visits to the class; how she talked to the men, and, with her sweet, unconscious dignity, made them feel completely at their ease at once; how she was interested in their imperfect writing, in the books they read,—in fact, in everything that interested them."

Mrs. A. W. Verrall, another former student, and a

lecturer of the college, sends me the following reminiscences, which give some idea of Miss Clough's relations with her students:—

"I do not think that I knew very much of Miss Clough till after I had been two or three terms at Newnham. From the beginning she was very kind and friendly to all of us new arrivals, and I well remember how she herself drove down to the station at the end of my first term with me and a friend who, like myself, had not travelled alone before, took our tickets, and put us in charge of Professor Seeley as far as London, where, as she knew, we were to be met. I also remember the surprise which I felt when, on my return for the second term, Miss Clough referred to the eighteenth birthday which I had had in the holidays, and which, of course, I did not expect her to remember, even if she knew my age. But if I had left at the end of my first year, I should have had very little idea of what Miss Clough really was.

"It is difficult to say how one came to know her, but I think it was chiefly from her great frankness and simplicity of speech, whenever she saw a student alone; she also had a wonderful faculty of using the odd minutes, which most people fill with small talk. Many of the things which I can never forget were said on the way to or from a friend's house, when we were driving together, or while I helped her shut and bolt the college doors at night. In those days she was always up and visible when we returned after ten, so that there were more frequent opportunities of short talks than was possible when the college was larger, and the general organisation more complete. It is not everyone who would have used such scraps of time to any purpose, but Miss Clough possessed

the great art of leaving out the beginnings and ends, over which so much time may be spent, and always going straight to the middle of what was interesting.

"On one occasion in particular I remember a talk with her as we drove out to dinner, which, more than any one other thing, marks the beginning of my personal relations with her. She had been vexed about something earlier in the day, and had spoken very sharply to a student when I was present, more sharply, or at least with more feeling, I had thought, than the occasion warranted. The moment the door of the cab was shut upon me, Miss Clough said to me that she had been wrong in speaking as she had done to Miss So and So, that she often was over hasty, and that as a young woman she had a very quick temper. 'It is often very difficult for me now, my dear,' she said, 'and I want you to know that I do not always do at the moment as I should wish to do. You must remember that I try to be just, but I don't always succeed.' There are few older women who would speak as frankly and simply as this to a girl, and to a girl who stood in the relation of student to Principal, but I have sometimes thought that one explanation of Miss Clough's great influence over the young people who surrounded her was to be found in her own keen sense of the value of every individual, young and old, and of the equality of every human being as such. Many older people value, if one may so put it, their experience more than themselves, and therefore have what seems to the young an exaggerated sense of their own importance in the universe. Miss Clough always made one feel that the personality of everyone was the essential thing, and experience an accidental advantage of the old which was, as far as might be, to be placed at the disposal of the

young. She never referred to her own experience except when such reference could help the younger woman, never spoke as if it gave her the right to judge, but as if it added to the data which formed the basis for judgment, and we always felt in talking to her that she was quite as ready to learn from the younger generation what their inexperience had to teach her, as we could be to profit by her experience.

"As time went on, and I came to know Miss Clough better, I had many opportunities of seeing her alone, which must have been much less easy as the college increased. Throughout the last year or two of my student days, and the two years of my lectureship, I never came back from an evening engagement without going to Miss Clough's room to tell her what I had been doing, just as one tells one's mother all the little events and interests of the day.

"But it was perhaps in the Long Vacation that we had the most frequent opportunities of seeing Miss Clough. There were fewer students to occupy her, and not so many engagements for those who were up, so that it often happened that I spent an hour or two, two or three times a week, in Miss Clough's room, talking or reading, or listening while she read. She was always interested to know what we younger people were reading, and so we would read our Rossetti to her, or Mr. John Morley's *Compromise*, and then she would read to us Wordsworth's *Sonnets* or the *Evening Voluntaries*."

Another student, who was not quite young when she came to college, said to me, describing the special character of her intercourse with Miss Clough, that it was not that she gave her more affection than she was accustomed to, that what was unusual was her power of appreciating an

intellectual standpoint not her own, and of creating an atmosphere in which whatever there was in each person could develop freely.

Miss Clough hardly ever met anyone in the passages or anywhere else without saying a word to them. This habit caused a student of another college to say irreverently that if Miss Clough met one of the students going upstairs, she said, "My dear, are you going upstairs?" and if she met a student going downstairs, she said, "My dear, are you going downstairs?" No doubt it often seemed a little futile and even tiresome. But it really answered the purpose of making everyone feel how conscious she was of their existence and their doings, and when there were a great number with whom she wished to keep in touch, even these little fragments of intercourse were of use. And the smallest word was always accompanied by a kindly look, which went for a good deal. That the habit had its uses is shown by the recollection of a student who was not living in Miss Clough's Hall, who says, "If ever I met her casually in the college, she always spoke to me, except once, when I think she hadn't anything to say, and she kissed me instead. I remembered it, because I was feeling rather lonely and depressed just then."

Though Miss Clough was on easy and familiar terms with her students, she had no difficulty after the first year or two in maintaining her authority in the college. One student, an American girl, said that she disobeyed her father and mother on principle, but that, principle or no, she could not disobey Miss Clough. For the most part, no doubt, the students had too much regard for her to be willing to displease her. She very seldom gave commands, and though she often seemed unreasonably anxious, she

was not simply arbitrary, and she would hear what they had to say, and sometimes be persuaded. When, however, she had made up her mind that anything was desirable, either for the good of the college or of any individual, she insisted absolutely on its being done. She never completely subdued the fiery temper which she had lamented over as a girl, and which flashed out at one and another now and then. She generally repented very soon, and tried to make amends by little kindnesses and attentions. She would ask the victim to sit by her at dinner, or she would take her for a walk. I do not think she often said anything explicit, partly perhaps from shyness, and partly, I think, from her instinctive dislike of anything emotional. She often seemed to prefer to express her feelings indirectly and by action, and trusted to the delicacy of perception in her friends to interpret her. But in this matter, as in others, her instinct usually guided her truly as to the best way of treating each person.

She was quite ready to admit that she was not always in the right, and was extremely indignant once when some one said chaffingly to her, "I suppose you never make mistakes, Miss Clough?" She used to tell her students that they mustn't mind if they made mistakes, and I believe she thought them a sign of healthy activity. One of her mistakes I remember, and its sequel. She was much agitated about a particular student, who she thought was behaving wrongly and foolishly, and one day she openly broke open and read a letter addressed to this girl, who happened to be out when it arrived. The girl, who was very young, as soon as she discovered this, went to Miss Clough, and said, "I ask you, speaking as one woman to another, what right you had to

open my letter?" Miss Clough answered, "My dear, I was wrong."

In speaking of Miss Clough's life and activities in the college, it is necessary to mention her generous use of money. The moderate income which had been hers since her mother's death made it unnecessary for her to receive any salary from the college, and, since her way of life was simple and economical, enabled her not only to give considerable sums to the college itself, but also to help innumerable individuals. Such help was, for the most part, of course, given privately, and therefore the extent of it cannot be known, but she certainly both lent and gave money freely inside as well as outside the college, where she thought such help was really needed.

Miss Clough's intellectual power was by no means so obvious to those who did not know her intimately as her remarkable kindness and sympathy. It needed time and some attention to her sayings and doings to discover it; and probably comparatively few, even of those who had opportunities of frequent intercourse with her, realised fully her insight, her delicacy of perception, her width of view and wise sobriety of judgment, or the extraordinary fertility of resource and originality, even audacity, of thought which were combined with these. Several causes contributed to prevent her real power from being easily and quickly recognised. The chief of these was undoubtedly her deficiency in power of expression, in consequence of which her real self was only made known in her actions, in fragmentary sayings, and in her general attitude of mind.

Mrs. Francis Darwin, who was a student and afterwards a lecturer at Newnham, says of her: "Her kindness

was, I think, the practical but imperfect expression of Miss Clough's genius; for the fineness of perception, the width and versatility of the sympathies that lay at the back of it were, if not genius itself, akin to genius; but because she had no corresponding genius in expression, it diffused itself in numerous practical channels and remained unrecognised as a whole."

It was not so much that she had little command of language, as that she was incapable of methodical arrangement of her thoughts. She had no natural instinct for logic, and never felt the need of establishing the connection between one idea and another. She felt that it existed, and was not interested in defining it. And any logical power she had was helpless among the mass of ideas and considerations and points of view that crowded upon her as her mind dwelt upon a subject. Consequently, in exposition or conversation she frequently began at the wrong end, she followed no order, and left the link between one thing and another to be divined. And since the main points were obvious to her, they were apt to be only slightly indicated, while remote consequences and side issues were dealt with in detail.

This want of method sometimes made havoc of her business documents, especially in the earlier years at Newnham, and always to some extent unfitted her for work on committees; and in conversations on business she was at all times liable to give people who did not know her the impression that she was confused, and had no grasp of the question in hand, though in her mind it was perfectly clear, and she could have given a practical demonstration of it if the subject had admitted of one. In general conversations, too, her remarks, which were nearly always

interesting and entertaining to those who came prepared either by faith or experience, struck some people as incoherent and irrelevant, and even as futile and unmeaning. Mrs. Darwin says her remarks seemed to go in and out of a subject as she herself would go in and out of a door during or at the end of a conversation, suddenly returning to say something she had forgotten.

She undoubtedly suffered, and was aware that she suffered, from the want of intellectual discipline in youth. She was impressed with the need of such training, and would recommend the study of logic to her students, on the ground that it would help them to arrange their ideas. She thought also that examinations were valuable because they made people learn to express themselves clearly and concisely, and to concentrate their attention.

But though these defects prevented her from doing justice to her ideas, and often gave a false impression of her, I am very far from meaning to imply that everything she wrote or said was made ineffective by them. In individual sentences she often expressed her ideas with a simplicity and directness that was adequate and impressive, and by such isolated sayings she did succeed in communicating some of her ideas and something of her spirit to many minds. And there was something quaint and homely about the words she used and the simplicity of her phrases, which gave a peculiar flavour to what she said. One of her students wrote of this: "It sounds rather a fantastic comparison, but I often think her sayings were like the works of the early painters, all the more effective because the artist has not yet subdued his medium; sheer force of character and feeling had risen over the difficulties."

Miss Clough was not merely without method in ex-

pressing herself; she was unmethodical and unsystematic in all her work. It is indeed extraordinary that she was able, without the help of any system or arrangement, to grasp and keep clearly in her mind and manage effectively the very large number of matters with which she was concerned. She seemed to have a natural distaste for generalisation, and was unwilling to lay down rules, and if rules were laid down, she could hardly consent to abide by them, and must decide every case on its own merits.

This attitude of mind naturally was disadvantageous to her work as director and organiser of a large household, and she was in other ways not wholly fitted to succeed in this capacity. She was apt to be led astray by her tenderness for the individual and her desire to make use of existing means. She could not without a great effort make a clean sweep of people or things really unsuitable for her purposes, but was always contriving to find a use for them, and carried tolerance too far. And this over-tolerance was the more felt in household matters, because she was curiously wanting in artistic sense. She took pleasure in many pretty things, and seldom, if ever, liked ugly ones; but she had no perception of congruity in outward things, and in such matters would be content with what seemed intolerable to others. Her defects as an organiser were obvious to those who lived with her, and gave many the impression that she had little real grasp or mastery of the matters she had in hand. Mrs. Darwin's account of her first acquaintance with her illustrates this. She says:—

"I saw her for the first time in 1875. She impressed me then as an old lady, over-careful and troubled about many things, and feeling their burden too great.

"The first Hall at Newnham was then being built, and we were all in very close quarters in a house and a half in Bateman Street. She was standing in the narrow passage receiving the new students, and at the same time directing the cabmen as they carried the boxes up the narrow stairs. Her white hair, bowed figure, low voice, as well as the attitude, a characteristic one, in which she stood, with one hand at her side, gave me the impression of physical feebleness. Perhaps that first term, if I had been asked, I should have said she was mentally feeble too. I believe at that time she was doing the most enormous amount of work, as, besides all the external work of the quickly growing college, she managed, unaided, all its internal arrangements.

"My next impression was that she was a kind old lady. I remember that I got this impression very strongly and overwhelmingly one evening during my first term, when she made us a little speech before going away for a few days, asking us to take care of our healths. But I recall to my shame that at first she made no more impression on me than this. . . ."

Mrs. Darwin goes on to say: "It was partly, I think because I was much taken up with myself, though I remember coming up to Cambridge prepared to have a profound enthusiasm for Miss Clough, such as many young people, having heard of her work, felt in those early days; and I think that perhaps, like me, many of the cruder sort felt their enthusiasm diminish under the first impressions of her personality. For there was about her nothing of the direct, vigorous, and masterful which young people, and, indeed, crude people of any sort, mistake for strength. From the very nature of her mind and

character she was wanting in the outward and visible signs that impress; she seemed to the young (and crude) to be wanting in enthusiasm, decision, and frankness. She never made any flourish of general principles or statement of causes, and her desire not to offend people or to hurt their feelings, when they seemed to us utterly in the wrong and lost in superstition and prejudice, seemed cowardice and unworthy caution."

Mrs. Darwin speaks of Miss Clough as seeming over-careful and troubled about many things, and this was a very natural view to take, for she was undoubtedly apt to be unreasonably anxious, and may be said to have illustrated the saying, "*Le monde est aux inquiets.*" She seemed to feel that all her undertakings and all those she was responsible for were surrounded by innumerable possibilities of mischance, and she was determined that nothing should go wrong which care and thought could keep right. She had so little self-consciousness that she was not in the least afraid of being thought fussy, and she often was fussy and quite unnecessarily disturbed. She was always nervous about the health of the students, and took endless pains about anyone who was delicate or unwell. She was generally anxious about arrangements little and great, and never thought the smallest success could be too dearly bought with trouble, and she could not be content with the probability that all had been done that should be done. One student tells how she met Miss Clough starting in the rain to a place some distance off, to make quite sure that a friend had been invited to some college festivity. The girl went on this errand instead of her, but only to discover that it was unnecessary, and that the lady had been invited more than once already. And again, a year or two before

her death, when she was easily tired and it was very desirable that she should save her strength, I remonstrated with her once for walking about the house opening and shutting windows, a task which I thought she might have left to the servants. But she would not be persuaded, and declared that it was a very important matter, and that it required much judgment to know when to let in the air and when to keep out the damp and cold.

In the early days she was always nervous lest the students should attract attention and criticism by any eccentricity in dress or conduct, for her great desire was to be unnoticed, and to make it clear that this little colony of women was harmless and inoffensive. So zealously did she impress upon the college the necessity for respecting the conventions, that one of the students suggested that Newnham should take as its crest Mrs. Grundy rampant and two Newnham students couchant.

Much of this care and watchfulness seemed unreasonable and unnecessary to the students, and no doubt Miss Clough pushed it to excess; but she probably did, by means of it, avoid dangers which could hardly otherwise have been guarded against. In nineteen cases, perhaps, she was troubled for nothing, but in the twentieth she may have averted a disaster.

And many of those who saw Miss Clough agitated and disturbed, and thought her wanting in philosophic calm, did not realise that behind this there lay a great fund of serenity. One of her students remarked that when the occasion for activity passed, she could subside into such perfect repose of attitude and expression that it was refreshing merely to see her. She had a large view of things which she never lost sight of for long, and her wide

range of interests enabled her to turn her mind quickly to matters outside her daily cares. She said to me once, just after she had gone through an agitating interview, that she had all her life been accustomed to read and think about public affairs, and could therefore prevent herself from being too much taken up with her own difficulties. And Mrs. Sidgwick tells me that once, after a long conversation on a difficult and anxious matter, Miss Clough began eagerly to discuss with her possible reforms in the Church of England and the question of land tenure in India.

One characteristic which was hidden from superficial observers by Miss Clough's somewhat hesitating manner, was her tenacity of purpose and power of sustained effort in the face of discouragement. The indomitable spirit which shows itself repeatedly in her early diaries was at all times apparent to those who worked with her. The presence of difficulties seemed only to rouse her courage and to stimulate her inventiveness to discover some path round the obstacle which should lead her, as nearly as possible, to her original destination.

Many people, like Mrs. Darwin, saw nothing unusual in her on first acquaintance, but, on the other hand, many were very deeply impressed at once. Much depended, of course, on whether the other person concerned was or was not sympathetic, but much also on accidental circumstances. Those who saw her first anxiously struggling with practical matters were likely to take the view which Mrs. Darwin describes; but those who saw her with her mind at leisure, or intent on some matter of real interest, frequently carried away an impression of greatness and of a rare and interesting character.

Her appearance varied much, and was sometimes

very striking and sometimes not so at all. Her hair had become white early, and though this was picturesque and effective, it made her look much older than she was. Her eyes were of an indescribable dark colour and very bright and large, and were the striking feature of her face; but when she was anxious or occupied with practical matters, she constantly kept them half closed, and her face then looked tired and careworn. She was of a fair height, and though she stooped considerably as she grew older, she never gave the impression of being a short person. She was only seen to advantage in repose, for though she was strong and active in walking, she had no grace or power in movement, and in matters needing bodily skill she seemed to accomplish whatever she did solely by force of will. She had not the imitative instinct, and was not quick at acquiring forms of speech and behaviour, and there was always something homely in her manners, which, especially in the early days, sometimes amounted to clumsiness.

But she had a natural dignity about her which seemed to be the outward sign of her real greatness of character, and the simplicity and gentle kindliness of her manner were very noticeable, and nearly always attracted people to her. There was wonderful serenity and sweetness in her expression when she was not troubled and anxious, and when she was animated there was fire and power.

She had a habit when anything stirred her of suddenly lifting her eyelids and opening her eyes to their real size, and the effect of this was often almost startling; someone spoke of it as like the sudden unveiling of a spirit. And when she was talking to someone in whom she was interested, she would occasionally direct upon them such a full,

searching glance that it seemed to them to pierce right into their thoughts.

If the first point in Miss Clough's character which attracted attention was her kindness, the second was usually the rather indefinable quality called wisdom. It was almost impossible not to feel, in talking to her, that she saw further than others, that her mind had a wider range and embraced an unusual number of considerations and possibilities, and to this there was added a remarkable fertility in suggestions and expedients, and a surprising readiness in making use of the large store of miscellaneous knowledge which she had collected.

In all matters, small and great, she showed an unusual power of seeing both sides. In dealing with all the relations of life, those between parents and children, employers and employed, old and young, she had always thoughtful sympathy for each point of view. Even in debates, someone remarked, she usually spoke on both sides.

This characteristic, as well as her tenderness for the feelings of others, came out clearly in her attitude towards those who did not sympathise with her work and her aims. She thought it quite natural that many people should dislike and disapprove of a women's college at Cambridge, and she was anxious not to cause them any unnecessary annoyance, and to offend their tastes and even their prejudices as little as possible. It was not by disregarding and overriding opposition, according to her, that changes could best be brought about; the right course was to work quietly, to avoid as far as possible what would cause irritation, and to consider carefully the feelings of all who could be affected by what was done. It was important, she said, that everything should be done in a friendly spirit, and it was worth

while to be patient and wait long for what was wanted, if by so doing anything of the nature of fighting could be avoided.

It was in this spirit that she approached the questions concerning the relation of the women's colleges to the University. She felt much gratitude to Cambridge University for the kindness which it had shown to women students and for its readiness to consider their needs. Cambridge was the first of all the Universities to help women. It had opened the Local Examinations to girls and had granted the request for a more advanced examination, and Newnham itself had been created by members of the University, and owed its advantages to their self-sacrificing zeal.

Miss Clough felt there was much that the University could still do to help women and make their lives more satisfactory; she had the deepest reverence and admiration for the University, and she desired ardently that women might be allowed to share in the advantages which she valued so highly. But it never occurred to her to talk of "rights," and the abstract ideas involved in the expression did not appeal to her; she hoped that it would in time be seen that the women students were worthy of further privileges, and that they would then be granted to them. This hope was justified when, in 1881, the University admitted women to the Honours Examinations and formally recognised the women's colleges. She would undoubtedly have been glad if it had then or afterwards been found possible to grant the further privilege of admission to degrees; but she recognised that what was given was of much greater value than what was withheld. What was given gave her very great satisfaction, and she took

particular pride and pleasure in the fact that her college was now definitely connected with the University. It became the custom at Newnham to keep the day on which the Graces were passed by the Senate as a college festival, an annual commemoration day, and Miss Clough used the occasion to make the early history of the college known to the students, and to show how much had been done for them, both by individuals and by the University.

Her attitude in these matters naturally influenced those who came in contact with her, and her point of view came to be generally accepted in the college, and has been handed on from one generation of students to another.

She was not in the habit of expounding her views at length; but she often let drop a significant and suggestive remark, which made an impression on those who heard it, and by such casual words, as well as by her actions, she communicated her ideas and feelings to those around her, and made their influence widely felt. Miss Hughes gives an account of a conversation which illustrates this. She says:—

"Some students were once discussing the half-loaf theory of compromise, and Miss Clough joined the party. One of them repudiated with scorn taking the half loaf when she had a right to the whole, and persisted that it was better to starve a little longer till the whole loaf was given. Miss Clough gently pointed out that the student was looking at the question only from her own standpoint, and that she was forgetting her opponents who possessed the loaf. If they saw far enough to be willing to give half a loaf, it was good for them to be allowed to give it, and it was harmful to them to prevent it. Further, if they were encouraged to act up to their present light, this

would hasten the day when they could see far enough to give the whole loaf. She added quaintly, with a quiet smile, that it was usually far easier to see that one deserves a whole loaf than that it is one's duty to give it away."

And again, in some reminiscences, published in the *Oxford University Extension Gazette*, an old student tells of a letter written in the course of a somewhat heated educational controversy: "A student to whose lot it fell to draft the letter exhibited her performance with some pride, feeling confident of the Principal's approval. True, the Principal approved of its purport; but, with a humorous smile, far more convincing than argument, the expression was revised, its crudeness toned down, angles smoothed off, till at last the letter was despatched quite as decided as before, but free from the slightest tinge of controversial acrimony; and the student had received an invaluable lesson in polemics."

Miss Clough's sensitiveness to the feelings of others, and her anxiety to conciliate, produced in her a tendency to be diplomatic, which seemed at first sight curiously at variance with the fundamental simplicity of her character; and, since she was always making plans about everyone and everything, this diplomacy was frequently called into play, and caused her to be sometimes described as managing. She, no doubt, at times carried it too far, and made mistakes, and her little manœuvres occasionally annoyed and even shocked some who perceived them; but, as a rule, her strategy was of the most transparent and innocent kind, and often delightfully amusing. There was never any attempt to deceive in it, nothing of the nature of a trick; but she tried to present things to people on the side which was likely to appeal to them, and she caught at

points of sympathy, and left what was unsympathetic untouched. Once, when someone spoke of the marked disapproval of women's education shown by one of the University dignitaries, she remarked complacently: "Dr. X. and I are very good friends; I talk to him of the beauties of his college." Thus, though in the sense in which it is generally used the phrase, "all things to all men," would give a wholly wrong impression, her perception of different points of view, and her disinclination to controversy, enabled her to have pleasant and satisfactory relations with people of the most diverse ways of thinking. And yet she was so genuine that in every situation she could not be other than herself; it might be only one side of herself that she revealed, but it was always a side that really existed.

She was much afraid of doing harm by saying too much, and had a great power of reticence. She shrank from putting her aims and hopes into words, lest she should needlessly rouse a spirit of opposition and distrust; she kept her ideas to herself, and adapted and modified them as circumstances changed, and bided her time.

She usually preferred indirect and circuitous ways of saying and doing things, and this showed itself frequently in her dealings with the students. On one occasion, for instance, when she had some reason for wishing a girl not to go to particular parties, she said nothing to the girl herself, but she asked the hostess not to invite her. In this case she was probably influenced by her feeling that to speak of things is often to give them undue importance. She seemed to feel that every human being is a delicate and complicated piece of machinery, which must be very tenderly handled; and for this reason she liked to let

drop an idea in passing, and to convey suggestions by the way, without making it apparent that she was giving advice or expounding a doctrine. Many stories are told of her devices for delicately conveying to the students her dislike of anything in their dress or appearance. If a girl wore shorter dresses than she liked, she would seize the opportunity of her wearing a slightly longer one to say how much she liked it, and why. If a girl wore her hair in a fringe (a fashion Miss Clough abhorred), she would put it aside with her hands and say, "I like to see your forehead." And she would urge an untidy girl to employ a maid, on the ground that it would save her time.

She was more direct sometimes, but there was usually a persuasive setting to a remonstrance. At a debate, a student, noted for throwing bombs in conversation, advocated knickerbockers for women as a much cleaner and tidier mode of dress. Miss Clough listened with a face of horror. A few days later this reformer came to speak to her, dressed in a long, handsome cloak. Miss Clough took hold of it. "What a nice cloak you've got, my dear!" and then, in a low, confidential tone, "Much nicer than knickerbockers." Another student tells the following story: "I remember someone had been complaining that Newnham students went along the streets buttoning their gloves. The Principal gave us a sympathetic address on the subject. 'I know, my dears, that you have a great deal to do, and have not much time; but I don't like people to say such things about you, and so, my dears, I hope you'll get some gloves that don't want buttoning.'"

She used the word "manage" frequently, generally in the sense of contrive, succeed in bringing about, and imply-

ing abstention from all violence, and often in the most comical connection. She is said, for instance, to have commonly asked her neighbours at breakfast if they could manage to pass her the bread. And there is a tradition that in the early days, when she had been remonstrating with one or other of the students, or even only discussing plans, she would end ungrammatically, but expressively, with the general appeal for caution and forbearance—"If you could manage not."

This attempt to express many things regardless of grammar appears in another story of early times at Newnham. On one occasion she was sending out invitations for a discreet and modest garden party. She wanted a few people to play tennis, but she did not wish to do anything so definite and daring as give a tennis party. The result of these mixed feelings was that she was discovered writing in the corner of the cards to be sent to certain selected people the phrase, "If you could bring a racket."

The comic element in Miss Clough's sayings and doings, naturally enough, caused much amusement; but it was an amusement that was not incompatible with reverence, and there was a simplicity and purity of intention shining through all she did which made her funny little ways not more amusing than endearing. And her readiness to take advice, and even correction, from the youngest and least important individual sometimes abashed and confounded young people, who had felt inclined to pride themselves on a superior knowledge of grammar and the ways of the world.

During the latter part of Miss Clough's life at Newnham, she used occasionally to give addresses to the students;

some were specially intended for those who were leaving college, and some were addressed to the whole body of students, just before the annual Commemoration Dinner.

The notes of a few of these speeches, and of addresses given at school prize-givings and other such occasions, have been preserved, and are useful in throwing light upon her general aims, and upon her thoughts concerning the uses of education and concerning life in general.

In the addresses to the students she repeatedly points out that education is of the greatest value as a training and preparation for life. She speaks of "the discipline of study," and says on one occasion: "This was what those who have gone before you most desired, this was what they longed for, what they worked hard to obtain for you. We see the great advantage and the power it gives." And again: "It is thought that this discipline of steady study will brace the minds of young women, and, besides, give them the joy and pleasure of knowledge, of the culture of past ages and the sciences of the present, and so they will be better prepared for their future, whatever it may be. Some may wish for a quiet life, some for a life of study, some for occupation. But to all of us it is most important that we should know how to use our faculties, that we should learn to be exact, to observe, to be able to give out our knowledge accurately, distinctly, and clearly. Then we should often be the better if we could learn to act quickly, and yet not too quickly. Patience comes in most usefully, and we ought to know how to wait. And, above all, to bear defeat, and to be willing to try again and again." And again she says: "Simple knowledge is a very small part of education; many other things come in . . . the power of using our knowledge for the explanation of

things in life." She expresses her belief in the value of examinations. They demand "concentration, presence of mind, energy, and courage—these qualities are most important in life, they come into use every day." She adds to these remarks a warning against overwork. "Students must be prudent, they must not overwork or tire their minds, they must keep themselves fresh and bright by giving a certain amount of time to subjects apart from their special work, to exercise, to human interests."

Though she had had little regular education herself, she had clear views as to the educational value of different subjects, and dwelt, in speaking at schools, on the training given by mathematics, and science, and the study of the grammars of different languages, and on the culture to be acquired from the study of literatures of various nations, and from history. She spoke once of the pleasure of seeing "the life of a nation rolled out before us like a picture," and at another time she said: "What an immense pleasure it is to realise the life of a nation that has passed away—the Greeks and Romans, their religious life, their national life, their family life; to taste of their poetry and their philosophy. Even those who do not go in for the study of the classics may through translations gather up some knowledge, some perception and feeling concerning these past times, something that may beautify their own lives."

She believed that life at college was in itself educationally valuable for women, even apart from the studies. It gave them the opportunity of seeing many different people, of learning to understand different points of view, and the organisation of games and college societies taught them to be business-like, and gave them the power of working with others. She always hoped and believed that

their college life enabled them "to bring joy and brightness into their families," and to do their home duties better. This idea is constantly repeated in the addresses. She remarks that it is frequently said that "'the higher education makes people selfish,' and 'that women forget their home duties.' Let us hope that this will not be said of our Newnham students, either now or in the future. We hope that the duties of life are not forgotten, that they become pleasures, that care and thought for others is encouraged here, and that the power of doing things is acquired by the work that is required of the students. . . . We hope that when the time comes, some of you will be heads of families, and that you will apply your power to what you have to do. . . . Make your homes happy; you have been a long while away, and your coming back will bring a new element, and, let us hope, brighten them. The new friends that are made here, the new interests, the new books that are read, these may all bring something towards the embellishment of the home life." And another time, an old student tells me, she said that no doubt most of them would live in obscure corners of the world, but there was no corner that might not be brighter for their having been at Newnham.

She urged the students to keep up their connection with the college, and dwelt upon the importance of holding together. They would thus, she thought, be able to help one another, and forward many things that were useful, and they would be a source of strength to the college, and would keep it in touch with many points of view. The students whom the college had educated would in the future, she said, be responsible for the right guidance "of this great work which we hope is helping to join men and

women together in the training of their minds, in the love and desire for knowledge, and in the pursuit of all that is useful and beneficial to mankind in general."

In speeches before Commemoration, she was very earnest in bringing before the students the disinterested zeal and devotion and generosity of those who had built up the college, and in insisting that the college must always be mindful of its benefactors, not as a duty merely, but for its own sake, that it might not lose a remembrance which should be precious.

Her mind was often occupied with the possibility of opening out new careers for women, and she hoped that some of the students might be able to take part in the work of scientific investigation, though she realised that this would be possible only for a few. She thought much of what all her students were going to do in the future; whether they were going to follow old paths or new. She said once: "The world has become very interesting, it has opened out wonderfully. . . . I think it is a happy time for women. They may not have the suffrage, but they can work; they are recognised, they have influence, and I hope new careers will be opened to them. We must plan them, and women must be patient. Our plans may fail, but we must build them up again and gain the victory." But she told them not to be in a hurry to decide everything while at college. "It is well not to be too anxious about the future, but allow yourselves to take in what is round you; the influences, the thoughts, the enjoyments, and to occupy yourselves in reading books outside your work, if this is possible, in order to widen your minds."

To those who were going to teach she gave the advice she had given to teachers long before, the fruit of her own

experience. "Endeavour to put your whole heart in your work, to think of the moral tone of your pupils, to make a study of their characters, to try to find out the door into their hearts. If you can only succeed in this, even with a few, the teaching will be better for all. If you feel you have the sympathy of two or three, if you know they will understand you, you will be more able to gain the attention of the class. For one thing, you will have more courage to claim it. Then those who sympathise with you will help the others. There should be composure in our schools and among our teachers and pupils, not hot haste." She says: "There is great enjoyment in work. . . . Work puts us into connection with others, it gives us interest and experience, and scope for our affections," but she hopes they will be moderate in it, and will take a rest and breathing space before they begin. "Take a little amusement in moderation, and read good books, not those altogether in connection with your work. Try, too, to get acquainted with people, just a few anyhow, for books do not give us everything." She urges them to "think of the future and begin early to save, because some little sum put by helps towards independence. Teachers cannot go on teaching all their lives. But do not make yourselves slaves to fear of the future. People can live on a very little if they try and plan carefully."

She wished very much that some of her students should teach in elementary schools. She says: "Would it not give a great opportunity of making acquaintance with the children, or organising for them, of trying so to arrange their lives that the religious element may not be neglected? I feel personally great interest about this plan, for it was what at one time I earnestly desired to

do, and it has been a great disappointment to me that my present work has cut me off from these schools. It would be a great happiness if in some manner the students of the college could more and more connect themselves with such occupations."

To those who will be living at home she says: "I should say that you should consider, first, how you can make things cheerful and happy at home, and bring brightness. Rest in some degree will be pleasant, and you will have time to look round you and take up various occupations, to see people, to enter more into society; but I think many of you will rejoice in the leisure that you will have for general reading, the lives and deeds of great men and women, the secrets of science, poetry, devotional works—all these will be a delight to you. Two or three hours a day you can get to yourselves. Or, perhaps, there may come to you the delights of travel, of seeing some of the world, which is most charming, especially when we are young. We may well lay up a treasure-house of precious things and precious memories that shall be our comfort and joy through life. Memories of books, memories of places, they should be our jewels, our garden of delight. We shall gaze on the jewels, on the thoughts we have gathered and stored up from books, and we shall call forth the visions of the scenes we have passed through, and they shall be our gardens."

She goes on to say: "I have been thinking that by and by some of you might help the serious workers in various ways, even while you live at home," and suggests work in connection with the University Settlement at Southwark. "Moreover, wherever you live there will be work to be done; but I advise you, at first, to keep some

time for special home duties, and to get some travelling if it comes in your way."

She goes on to tell them of an old student who was at work in Jamaica at the head of a school for coloured girls, and of the importance of this work, and suggests that two of them might go and spend a few months near Miss Johnson and "help by your influence in her arduous work. You might see beautiful country, and become acquainted with many quaint people: you might really enjoy it all, and at the same time be of use in helping in the development of these people, and Miss Johnson's hands would be strengthened by your sympathy and your help. If this can be done in one place, surely help might be given in like manner in other places, and our travels may be made useful to others as well as helpful to ourselves. We may not be able to stay long in these regions, but even a short time may be of use."

She frequently suggested to her students that they might help to beautify the places where they lived. She thought sufficient attention was not paid to this, and that dull and ugly towns might be made pleasanter and more cheering to those who lived there, by planting trees and by encouraging flower-boxes.

On another occasion she says: "I would say, if possible, try to get a knowledge of at least one foreign country, of one foreign language, by living among the people and learning something of their thoughts and ways. Books do much, but they cannot give the vivid impression of the sight of things. It would be worth while taking a situation as a governess in a family to gain such knowledge, or to take a post in some institution where help was wanted. Surely this is better than merely travelling and sight-

seeing. We then belong to the life, we see people in their ordinary ways, in their undress; they talk to us in their ordinary manner as they do to their children. We may form friendships, we may give something back from our own country, a little cement perhaps is made between two nations. For ourselves will remain many impressions; many mental photographs will be taken, and what a pleasure in after times to review them, to take them out again and again and recall them." For those who did not wish to teach, she suggested work in connection with emigration, with the administration of the poor-law, with the Charity Organisation Society, or with co-operative societies.[1] On another occasion she says: "Do not be afraid of humble work, whatever it may be. Take what comes, and put your minds to it. But I do advise you always to try for leisure, and contemplate your work, and avoid slavery."

She speaks a little regretfully of the bustle of the present day. "There was in past times a period when there was a life of much contemplation, when the monks devoted themselves especially to thought and education, and, we may say, strained and warped their minds and distorted them. But there has been less of that phase of life of late years. Men have turned more to action; some perhaps have given too small a portion of time to thought and to gentle and secret ways. Perhaps it cannot be helped, for the world has grown so large and so full that

[1] Work of this kind has since been taken up by several former students of the college. One, Miss Sewell, is Warden of the Women's University Settlement, Southwark; another, Mrs. Bernard Bosanquet, is Secretary to the Shoreditch Centre of the Charity Organisation Society; and a third, Miss M. Sharpley, has been appointed by the Charity Organisation Society, in conjunction with two other societies, to lecture on work among the poor.

it seems impossible to do without much organisation and public action. The quiet life has gone from us, but if that has passed away, yet there may remain with us some of the grace of that life, the affection and the gentle care."

She bade her students "be courageous and not frightened overmuch by defeat and by making a mistake, though it is well to avoid both, but not always possible. How shall we ever succeed if we do not venture? and we scarcely know till we try what are our capabilities. Some will say it is best to do just what we like, but then we scarcely know what we like till we have tried. Experience must teach us. Unfortunately, too, even when we do like a thing, we may not be able to do it, it may be too high for us. At the same time, we should not be afraid of making a mistake, for how else shall we discover our capabilities? By effort and insight we may compass many things."

And again: "We should cultivate a bright and joyous spirit,—I may say, a fearless spirit,—that determines, as an American writer says, never to complain of anything that can be helped, or that cannot be helped. There is great strength in these words. If we can help a thing, do not let us complain, rather let us gather up our courage and wit to find a way out of our difficulties. There is a great joy in seeking our way, in overcoming our difficulties, and 'at last sailing into port, furling our sails and letting down the anchor, while we bask in the sunshine, remembering the time when the dripping sailor was on the reeling mast.' If the thing is inevitable, then let us bear it uncomplainingly, and not waste our strength in vain repining and complaining. If we watch, we may still find a way of escape."

In her last address to the students who were leaving college in the summer of 1891, she said: "The door is open of the pleasant garden of knowledge and of life, where, for some years, I trust, you have gathered instruction and equipped yourselves for what is to come; and you are passing out with your precious memories of past days and friends, and a bright life. You are going to build up a new life for yourselves in your homes, or in fresh work. Surely you need not fear; you have gained strength, you have gained power, you will be able to build something pleasant and satisfactory out of your surroundings. . . . I bid you be of good cheer and go forth, for life is greater and wider than college, except, perhaps, for great students. . . . One word more. Take the little pleasures of life, do not always be in a hurry, watch the sunsets and the clouds, and the shadows in the streets, and the misty light over our great cities. These bring joy, as we walk by the way, and thankfulness to our Heavenly Father."

It is made clear in these addresses that Miss Clough's zeal for education sprang from her belief in its value as a preparation for life. She did, indeed, look upon the acquisition of knowledge as delightful as well as useful, as a source of great enjoyment, and as one of the pleasures which brighten life. She felt genuine reverence for learning, and for the learned men of past times and of her own day, and she fully approved of a life of study for those who were marked out for it by their inclinations and their intellectual capacity. But she was not herself by nature a student, and she was not possessed by the passionate desire for knowledge for its own sake, and it was not her part to forward higher education for women by kindling this enthusiasm.

But, apart from the services which she rendered by conducting successfully the particular enterprise with which she was concerned, she did contribute something peculiarly her own to the general success, by insisting upon the human and practical character of the movement. University education for women has often been decried as useless, and has been accused of a tendency to make them hard and inhuman, and there was, perhaps, a possibility that it might have this effect. But it may fairly be said that Miss Clough succeeded in averting this danger at Newnham, and there is, I think, reason to believe that the influence of her view of education, as a means of developing the faculties of women, and enabling them to live better and more satisfactory lives, whatever their sphere, was felt beyond the bounds of her own college. Nor can it, I think, be doubted that, by her influence in this direction, and by showing that University education might really be effective to these ends, she helped to win general favour and acceptance for the movement for the higher education of women, and thus contributed materially to its remarkable success.

It would, of course, be quite possible to emphasise this side of the question too much, and to lose sight of the high ideal of disinterested love of knowledge which is the choicest product of a University atmosphere; but in this case there were sufficient safeguards against this danger. In the first place, as I have said, though Miss Clough did not herself feel this rare enthusiasm, she respected and encouraged the feeling when she found it in others; and in the second place, there were many at work with her who were well able to make up for whatever was wanting in this respect. And her view of education is, it must be

confessed, the true one for the majority, both of men and women, for the many who, as she said, cannot be great students.

Miss Clough made the world outside feel that life at a women's college might be softening and humanising in its effect. Her students carried something of her spirit to their homes; their parents felt that their children were better and happier for being at college, that they came back to them from an atmosphere of kindliness, of human interests and sympathy towards others. Miss Clough's own essentially human attitude of mind, and the wide range of her sympathies, could not fail to leave a mark on her work; and all who became acquainted with her felt that her influence could never foster what was narrow and hard.

It has sometimes been thought that those who wished for new opportunities for women in education and in other things, must necessarily regard men as their enemies, and consider any success they may gain as a victory over men. Miss Clough had no feeling of this kind. She was not interested in women alone, nor in them merely because they were women; and she was incapable, as one of her friends said, of crudely dividing the world into the two camps of men and women. She wished women to show that they were capable of work which had been supposed hitherto to be only possible for men, but she wished it for the sake of the real advantages which might be gained thereby, new opportunities and new privileges, and she never fell into the error of forgetting the end in the means.

Her sympathies could not be confined to any one class or section of the community. Though a great part of her

life was spent in working for the benefit of women, she did not think and care for women only, and if the opportunity of doing good service to women had not presented itself, she would have devoted herself with equal zeal to work of another kind. She never lost her eager desire to give some help to the children of the poorer classes, and as some words in one of her addresses show, she half regretted that she had been diverted from her early plans of work among them. I gathered, indeed, from a remark she once made to me, that after Newnham was fairly established, she occasionally considered the possibility of returning to such work.

But she did understand and feel strongly for the difficulties of women. She knew that many women had suffered much in the past for the want of opportunities. She spoke often of the women whose minds had been moved by the stirring of thought on religious and social questions in the first half of the century, unmarried sisters, it may be, living together in dull, contracted surroundings, in homes where there was not occupation enough for all.

These women, she said, "were restless and unhappy, and struggled for they knew not what. Some had none to give them sympathy and help, and had not courage or wit to find out and enter on new paths for themselves. . . . Many suffered grievously, some fell into ill health, many were soured and spent their lives in foolish and useless complainings." Of those who succeeded in finding some way out, she says: "No doubt many of these restless women were not satisfactory, and especially in those early days. They were obliged to strive so earnestly for freedom that they lost the charm and grace that belongs to the best of

women, but surely only for a time, and this only happened to a few."

She undoubtedly thought of herself as one of those women who had been awakened by the stirring of thought around them, and was conscious of having suffered keenly from the restless desire to be at work and to share in the life of the world, and of having fretted to see her life slipping by with her energies and faculties unused. She must have been thinking of her own experience when she said: "Others, on the contrary, who were dissatisfied, made up their minds that complaining was vain and unprofitable, they decided that the better course was to be silent, watchful, and alert. They would find their way, but they would be careful not to hurt the feelings and prejudices of those who were nearest and dearest to them. They would keep their strength for the critical moment, and then make the change they wanted. They were quite aware that they might make mistakes, but they hoped that if they tried to be thoughtful and considerate towards their friends, they would be saved from remorse in the future, and they would not bring discredit in the eyes of the world on their careers and doings." And, writing in the *Universal Review* on this same subject, she speaks of those who found helpers in their brothers: "Dr. Arnold's earnestness had moved them in their schoolboy days; they understood and appreciated the difficulties and aspirations of their sisters."

She by no means wished all women to take up professions; but I should say that she thought most women, whether they were living at home with their families, or independently, could find opportunities of active usefulness.

It is already sufficiently clear that she attached great

importance to home life, and she was also decidedly an advocate for marriage. It gave her great pleasure to hear that one of her students was going to be married, and she frequently refused to be discouraged, even when the circumstances seemed inauspicious. A friend tells how she once said to Miss Clough, "rather gloomily," that she had heard bad news of one of the students—she was going to be married to an elderly man with several children. Miss Clough replied, "Very good news indeed; she will make an excellent stepmother."

Miss Alice Gardner remarks that one of the most striking features of her character was the coincidence of an intense devotion to work with a great belief in happiness. She liked people to have some work to do; but she thought it very important that it should be work in which they could take pleasure. She had no tendency to asceticism, and never encouraged self-mortification or extravagant disregard of natural inclinations. She permitted herself to smile discreetly at a philanthropic friend, for whom she had a great respect, but who once said, "I lead a life of self-denial from morning to night," and she would never have recommended any of her students to follow this course. Her feeling on the subject is shown in the following conversation, which is given in Mrs. Ward's account of her. Mrs. Ward says:—

"Not long since, a former student was getting advice from Miss Clough about some future plan of life, and, feeling that too much was being expected of her, she broke out petulantly with the assertion that she was 'neither clever nor good, and did not like tiresome people, and could not be always working and taking an interest in social reforms.' Miss Clough very quietly and gently

answered her: 'My dear, of course, you cannot; I never meant that you were not to have your own life and enjoy yourself.' And she added naïvely, 'I am sure I cannot always be working and struggling myself, and I think some people horrid! And when I had a school, I sometimes used to hate it.' Then she went on to explain how interests might grow little by little, and how, if one did not altogether like this or that person, one might yet find some entertainment in studying them, and how, when things were growing too monotonous, one might contrive a change. . . . She ended by pointing out a number of little things that might be congenial to this particular person in the new life, and which might be aids to content, not omitting the mention of even the wearing of pretty dresses!"

She did not like an individual to be sacrificed to a cause, however good. She expected her students to give up something for the sake of the college,—the pleasure, for instance, of going about without gloves,—but did not wish or expect anyone connected with the college to sacrifice themselves to it, or, as she said, to go on working and receive no reward of any kind. On one occasion, when it seemed doubtful whether the interests of the college were not at variance with the reasonable claims of an individual, I remember hearing her say, more to herself than to me, "It can never be right to be unkind."

It was an essential part of Miss Clough's nature to look at every subject which presented itself with her own eyes, and she was little influenced in forming a judgment by regard for what was commonly accepted, or by any general principles. This gave her views on all subjects remarkable freshness and closeness to life; they sprang

from the contact of her mind with the facts, and the flavour of reality was strong in them. Many people, and especially those who, like Miss Clough, are charitably minded, though they recognise in the abstract that an ideal state of things is uncommon, prefer to suppose that it exists in every particular instance, unless they know the contrary, but Miss Clough's expectations were always founded on probabilities. She habitually took the weakness of human nature into account, and was not easily shocked or startled, and for this reason it was easy to be frank and outspoken with her. No one was ever met with lifeless precepts and depressing counsels of perfection; and yet, by expecting only what was possible, and by fairly recognising difficulties and seeking remedies, Miss Clough braced and encouraged many to do their utmost.

The fact that Miss Clough fixed her attention on things as they are, and her indifference to abstract principles, led some people to regard common sense as her leading characteristic, and to think her wanting in enthusiasm for the ideal. But though her ideals were seldom put into words, even in her own mind, she succeeded in making their presence felt by many, and in communicating something of her own zeal in their pursuit. She inspired many with the desire to make the best of their lives, gave them a new sense of their own value, and roused them to feel how much that was worth doing might be done by the humblest, and in the most restricted sphere. Several years after her death, a former student, who was by no means intimate with her, wrote in reference to some work which she was about to undertake: "No one who has been under Miss Clough could fail to put their heart into

their work and give of their best." And another student writes: "The way Miss Clough went on quietly working and doing what came next to be done, and at the same time inspiring us with ideas of various careers, without talking cant or making any great professions, gave me a great belief in her, and made me realise how much she really cared for and believed in things. It gave one a notion, too, how really great her philosophy was, and an ideal of trying to live in the same way."

It often seemed to me that Miss Clough's sincerity of nature acted as a touchstone and test of genuineness. Her simplicity and sincerity seemed to reveal the presence of unreality, and she was, I think, instinctively repelled by it, sometimes almost against her will. And in conversation with her, those who were sensitive to such impressions not unfrequently felt themselves rebuked by some revelation of this quality in her, and became aware of a failure of simplicity in themselves. An old student gives an instance of this. "I remember," she writes, "when in the debate on 'A man's first duty is towards himself,' the Principal spoke against the motion which I had supported, how she made me feel ashamed of all the smart things I had said, or tried to say, against human nature and the homely virtues. It was like daylight flooding through gaslight."

She had, at least in later life, a wonderful power of silence and forbearance, and would listen without remark to an immense amount of folly. But her silence, or the unemphasised word or two which she might let drop, were often infinitely more effective than the most lucid explanations could have been.

I have already, in writing of Miss Clough's girlhood,

spoken of the remarkable extent to which she applied to her own life the knowledge of human beings and their affairs which she gained from books. The events of history, the lives of notable persons, characters, and situations in novels, were almost as real and vivid to her as if they had been part of her own experience, and had hardly less influence upon her actions; and such matters as the American Civil War or the exploits of Columbus suggested reflections to her by which she might guide her own conduct and that of others. This linking of small things with great, this perception that little things have their great side, and that humble deeds may be done in the same spirit as famous ones, were, it seems to me, a significant indication of the light in which she regarded the everyday life of ordinary individuals. It was never to her an ignoble business; it was made up of efforts and failures and successes, which, however obscure they might be, and unimportant to the world in general, were essentially the same in character as those which shaped the history of nations.

It was difficult for anyone to be much with her without being conscious of an atmosphere of greatness about her, and this was perhaps partly due to her perception of the wider aspect of common things. Other causes, no doubt, contributed to produce this impression, the presence in her of high and far-reaching aims, and of a noble patience and an abiding trust in God, which enabled her to rest content if only she had done what she could.

It is very difficult to give any account of Miss Clough's religious beliefs; for though it was clear to all who knew her that religion was a living force in her life,

she shrank from speaking on the subject. She constantly showed a disinclination to talk of matters on which she felt deeply, and it was no doubt to this feeling that her reserve as to religious questions was due. A former student tells how, at the end of one of her addresses to the students, after she had spoken of her hopes for their future lives, she said, with an effort which made a deep impression on some of her hearers, "This is what I hope and, I may say, I pray God for you."

I believe that the best indications of her feelings and ideas as to religion are to be found in the early diaries and lessons to school children already quoted. One passage, for instance, in the diary of 1845 might, I think, have been written at any time. It is that in which she speaks of "bringing our hearts into a constant spirit of earnest longing after what is right," and says: "There is no occasion, then, of kneeling down and repeating forms to make prayers. We live, then, in an aspiration after being transformed into the image of God." And again, a little further on in the same passage, she alludes to her own "constant realisation of God's presence." So, in a paper written in the last ten years of her life, she speaks of religion as "the longing towards what is divine," and as arising from "the contemplation of the divine." It seems to me unlikely that she had any clearly defined set of beliefs. I am sure that she made no pretensions to a logical position. All that can be said with certainty is, that she had a very real and living belief and trust in God.

She was brought up in the Church of England, and was strongly attached to it, and attended the service on Sunday with great regularity. She had an affection for the

Church prayers, and remarked once that they came back to one's memory "in lonely places and on the sea." She valued the Church of England for its comprehensiveness, for she considered that it was possible to be within its fold and yet to have some liberty of thought. But she was not only tolerant but sympathetic to other denominations, and she dwelt in this, as in other matters, on points of sympathy, rather than of difference. She was interested in attending the services of different churches, and found something which appealed to her in each point of view. She had a horror of proselytism, and thought it desirable to keep to the form of religion in which one had been brought up, as long as it was possible to do so honestly. I think she felt that those who chose for themselves, and definitely joined a particular church or sect, were more strictly bound than others—that their creed was more closely defined, there was less room for individual freedom or for development. She had a great dislike of dogmatism and narrowness, and anything approaching to fanaticism in religion, and was inclined to be impatient of anything which seemed to her to be extravagant and contrary to good sense. She always tried to encourage and support religious feeling among her students, though she left them perfectly free, and her influence in this direction was distinctly felt. One of her students wrote: "I never heard her speak at all on that matter, but she always brought a presence that made one think of the largest ideas."

The outward sign and proof of Miss Clough's wisdom, of the range of her understanding and the truth of her instincts, as well as of the strength and sincerity of her feelings, is to be found in the character and extent of her

influence. It was not only that literally many hundreds felt admiration and warm personal affection for her, and recognised that she had altered and enlarged their views, but that a surprising number of persons were, as long as she lived, consciously and directly influenced and guided by her in many of the actions of their lives. Many looked instinctively to her to advise them, to throw light on difficult questions, and to suggest remedies; very many valued her opinion, relied upon her intuitions, and keenly desired the sanction of her approval. Some wrote at intervals to consult her as to their work or their affairs, others seized every opportunity which offered itself of talking over all their concerns with her. Former students have repeatedly said to me that they always thought and still think of her when they are about to take any important step. One of them, who had not seen Miss Clough for many years, told me that her advice and opinion on particular questions remained fast in her mind, and still influenced her actions.

One old student writes:—

"If I had a new scheme in hand, or a new idea to develop, there was no one on whose interest I could count, or on whose advice I could depend, as on hers. There was nothing I could not talk of to her, and no subject that her few words did not make clearer and more interesting. She understood without one's having to clothe one's thoughts in words, and explained without making phrases. I know no one else who can do that. . . . I think in some ways knowing her has altered me more than anything else in my life. I am often surprised to find that her views on a subject or some words of hers come vividly before me at crises of decision, and I con-

stantly ask myself what advice she would give." And Mrs. Ward concludes her sketch of Miss Clough by saying that "involuntarily one imagines her reading what has been written, and finds oneself wondering whether she will approve."

CHAPTER VIII

INTERESTS AND OCCUPATIONS OUTSIDE THE COLLEGE

Professor Sidgwick writes of Miss Clough: "I came to recognise it as one of her most striking characteristics, that, however abundantly she responded to the demands made on her energies by the continual growth and change of her work in Cambridge,—especially by the rapid transitions from house to house, and, later, by the addition of Hall to Hall,—she never allowed her mind and heart to be absorbed in the local detail of this work. She was always considering it in its bearing on national education, and planning how its beneficial effects on the country at large might be improved and extended." And Professor Sidgwick adds that "to the end of her life she was never so completely absorbed in her work at Newnham as not to have thought and sympathy to spare for wider schemes of educational and social reform."

The keen interest which she felt in the whole field of education showed itself in many ways, and caused her influence to be felt in many matters unconnected with her own branch of work. She followed attentively what was done by others, and took every opportunity of learning about educational work, and of coming into communication with those who were engaged in it, She herself took part in various schemes, and gave active help wherever she could, and she was full of ideas and suggestions, and of an

eager interest which was in itself a source of inspiration to many. She was much interested in seeing schools, and visited many in different parts of the country. One point which she frequently urged upon the mistresses was the desirability of establishing school lending libraries, from which the girls could obtain general literature and acquire a taste for it. She not infrequently presented some small sum with which to start such libraries, and several were established at her suggestion. She was delighted with a plan of systematised holiday reading for schoolgirls, which she heard of from Mr. J. G. Crosswell, Head Master of the Brearley School for Girls in New York, and commended it warmly to the attention of her friends in some of the high schools. Miss Stephen, one of the Vice-Principals of Newnham College, tells me that on one occasion she went in Miss Clough's place to give prizes at a girls' school. Before going, she asked Miss Clough if she had any message to send to the girls. She answered, "Tell them from me how important it is to read books."

One undertaking which she suggested and helped to set on foot was the University Association of Women Teachers, an organisation intended both to serve as a registry for University-trained teachers, and to watch over the interests of women teachers generally, and do something to improve their position professionally. This Association, which was started in 1882, and was the first of the kind, is still in existence in 1897, and now numbers six hundred members. Miss Clough was President from its foundation until her death, and Miss Constance Elder, who was for many years Honorary Secretary, tells me that Miss Clough presided at nearly all the meetings, and took a great interest in its work,

and that she constantly gave valuable help and advice. She was most anxious that the Association should, among other things, organise a system of classes taught by highly trained teachers, which might meet the views of parents who did not wish to send their children to school, and yet would provide better and more stimulating teaching than could be had from a single teacher at home. An attempt was made to carry out this scheme, but it has not so far had much success.

In 1877, Miss Clough suggested to the Cambridge Lectures Association that a conference of head mistresses of schools, and others interested in the education of girls, should be invited to meet at Cambridge and discuss the course of study in girls' schools and the working of the Local Examinations, and this suggestion she carried out with the help and approval of the Association. About thirty head mistresses of important schools in different parts of the country, and about the same number of delegates from Local Examination centres, and members of the Cambridge Association met at Cambridge, and after an interesting discussion on several points, suggested various modifications in the plan of the Local Examinations, some of which were adopted by the Syndicate of the University.

It was probably in connection with this Conference that Miss Clough wrote a short paper on the training of teachers, a subject in which she had long been interested, and to which she had directed the attention of the North of England Council in 1868. In 1872 or 1873, Mrs. William Grey had suggested that a class of student teachers should be attached to every large school, and in 1873 the Head Masters' Conference had expressed approval of training by apprenticeship. Miss

Buss, Miss Beale, and the Girls' Public Day School Company were all in favour of some scheme of the kind, and students were received and trained at Miss Buss's school and a few others, but it had not been widely tried.

The object of Miss Clough's paper was to suggest that steps should be taken to secure the practical adoption of this method of training. She proposed that an association should be formed for the purpose, and that head masters and head mistresses of some large public schools should be urged to receive student teachers, and to make special arrangements for them. They should, she says, first be made acquainted with the system on which the whole school is worked, and be allowed to watch the teaching of others, and after a time they should be employed in teaching, and their lessons criticised. A great part of the necessary practice might, she suggested, be acquired in night schools and in the colleges for working men and women. These institutions would be glad of a regular supply of teachers, and the students would find it easier to teach where their position as students would not be known; and, as the pupils would be less accustomed to discipline, more training would be given in the art of management.

She expresses her opinion that "two terms of attendance at a high school for the study of methods and practice in teaching would, in almost all instances, give sufficient knowledge and facility in the work to enable students to take situations with satisfaction to their employers. Very often, when the student had some aptitude for teaching, one term would give ample time for the study of methods." She speaks of the desirability of an examination in the theory of education, which she thinks might be introduced into one of the groups of the Higher

Local Examination, and remarks that if this were arranged, lectures would no doubt in time be organised, and useful text-books written on the subject.

She adds: "Doubtless it will be said (and with great truth), that no head master or mistress would have the time to attend to student teachers and the work they would involve, but they might be invited to give the greater part of this work of training to a special teacher, who showed aptitude for it, and who would be paid by the fees, or it might be entrusted annually to one of the school teachers who was duly qualified, thus affording a change of occupation which is in fact a sort of rest."

She summarises the advantages of the scheme thus: "First, that it will not be expensive; second, that, very little machinery being required, it could be easily worked; third, that it need not interfere with the plans of other people, but would perhaps help them by affording some practical experience of modes of training by different educators. Lastly, that many advantages would result from the fact that the training of teachers might thus be placed in the hands of several educators of experience, who, as their work progressed, might be able to suggest improvements and modifications that would tend to the perfecting of the scheme."

The Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education gives some interesting information as to what has been done in the last twenty years with regard to this system of student teachers. It appears that it has been tried in a large number of girls' schools with varying success. Mrs. Kitchener, who, as Assistant Commissioner, visited the girls' schools in certain districts of Lancashire, reports that in these districts, which included Liverpool, Man-

chester, and other great towns, the schoolmistresses "all without exception spoke highly of the student-teacher system." In many places, however, it has been found unsatisfactory, mainly owing to the difficulty which Miss Clough foresaw, that the head mistresses have not time to attend to the training of apprentices, and because no such remedy as she suggested, namely, that a special teacher should be appointed for the purpose, has been adopted, On this point the Report of the Commission says: "This experience points to the employment of a mistress or master of method, as an essential part of the scheme, which, on the whole, cannot be said to have had a fair trial in England yet. . . . It remains, for the most part, still as an idea very imperfectly realised, obviously in need of development, and apparently capable of such development."

In 1878, Miss Clough tried a little experiment in training on her own account, by arranging that some of the students, who intended to make teaching their profession, should give occasional lessons in one of the Higher Grade Schools at Cambridge, and receive hints from the mistress. The plan was not carried on for very long, possibly because it was found that the students could not spare time for it from their regular work.

In consequence of a memorial on the subject, and a formal request which had been made by the Head Masters' Conference in 1873, Cambridge University appointed a Teachers' Training Syndicate in 1878. This Syndicate provides for the need of examinations and lectures specially intended for teachers, which Miss Clough had pointed out both in 1868 and in 1877. It conducts examinations at various centres, in the theory, history, and practice of

teaching, and it provides lectures at Cambridge on the subject.

These lectures became the starting-point for the Cambridge Training College for Women. The foundation of this College was proposed by Miss Buss in 1885, and it was mainly owing to her zeal, energy, and wisdom that it was successfully established. Miss Clough gave her active support to the scheme, and Miss Hughes, who had just finished her course of study at Newnham, was appointed Principal, and with the help of others at Cambridge and elsewhere, the College was opened in September of that year. An account of this enterprise is given in Miss Ridley's Memoir of Miss Buss, and Miss Hughes contributes to it some recollections of her early consultations with Miss Buss and Miss Clough. In the course of them, she says: "One of the most useful parts of my education at Cambridge was the opportunity of talking over this educational experiment with these pioneers. I shall never forget their patience under the difficulties which were always springing up, their foresight to prevent such difficulties, their earnest desire not to make unnecessary enemies, and at the same time their persistent intention to carry out the experiment."

Miss Hughes says elsewhere, that Miss Clough helped in the same way, with sympathy and wise counsel, in the formation of the Association of Assistant Mistresses, which was started by Miss Hughes and some other Newnham students in 1884.

Her interest in elementary education showed itself in various ways. She felt great sympathy for elementary teachers, and she thought that many of them received little help and encouragement in their arduous and

exceedingly important work, and were given few opportunities of improving themselves and widening the scope of their ideas. Professor Sidgwick says that she early conceived and long cherished the idea of somehow bringing up a selection of the female elementary school teachers to Cambridge, in order to give them some share in University education. "Obstacles," Professor Sidgwick says, "prevented her from carrying out this idea in a manner corresponding to that in which it has been carried out in the Day Training College for male elementary teachers." But on three occasions, in 1887, 1889, and 1891, she arranged to receive a small number of elementary school mistresses at Newnham, for part of their summer holiday, thus anticipating, though on a small scale, the summer meetings of Extension students, which began at Oxford and Cambridge in 1888. About twelve schoolmistresses came on each occasion, some for three weeks and some for less. They paid a certain sum to cover the cost of their board, and Miss Alice Gardner and others of the resident lecturers of the College gave them lectures and teaching in a variety of subjects. Miss Gardner also superintended all the arrangements, and took immense pains to make the visit pleasant and satisfactory. The visitors evidently enjoyed both the teaching and the amusements which were provided for them, the little entertainments in the college, the garden, their walks about Cambridge and expeditions on the river, and Miss Clough took great pleasure in thinking that they went away enlivened and refreshed. She herself took a large share in the preliminary arrangements, and Miss Gardner writes that "she was much interested in the work we planned and the walks we arranged for the elementary

teachers, and she made herself personally acquainted with most of them. On each occasion she came to spend an evening with us, and drew from the teachers descriptions of the chief difficulties with which they had to contend. She encouraged a discussion of abuses and remedies, and left them assured of her sympathy and of her influence in the direction of reform. She made a very deep impression on many of them, and when she died they felt they had lost a friend." Her continued interest in some of the individual teachers is shown by a letter from one of them, written two years after her visit to Cambridge, thanking Miss Clough for a letter and photograph, and telling her all the news of her family and her work.

Miss Clough had a desire that her students should do something for the children in elementary schools in Cambridge, and she at one time arranged a weekly class to be held in one of the schools after school hours. The intention was not so much to instruct the children as to amuse them and give them interests, and they were therefore taught fancy-work and games, and stories were read to them. Miss Clough herself attended this class with some of the students nearly every week in term-time for about three years.

She also suggested to an old student, Miss Hall, whose home was in Cambridge, to start an evening class of the same kind for elder girls. Miss Clough went to this class the first evening and talked to the girls, and Miss Hall tells me that she remembers seeing them gathered round her, absorbed in what she was saying, and that for long after they used to ask when she was coming again.

She had always a great wish that volunteer help should be made use of in elementary schools. In one of

her early articles, published in *Macmillan's Magazine* in 1868, she entered into this in some detail, and in later life she more than once brought it forward, but could not persuade those connected with elementary education to think it practicable. She thought that there were many volunteer workers who would be willing and competent to give regular help and to work under the direction of a head master or mistress, and that they might give valuable help to the other teachers, and bring a new and refreshing element into the schools.

In the paper written in 1868 she suggested that the volunteers might visit the parents and induce them to send the children to school and to take an interest in furthering their improvement, and also that they might form classes for those children whose attendance was necessarily irregular and work them up to the required standard.

She further proposed that they should hold meetings for parents, and explain educational matters to them. "Every means would be taken to kindle in parents a desire for their children's improvement, and suggestions given as to how they could best assist in their education. Emulation might be excited by speaking of what is done in other countries, and how much before us they are in these matters."

Some of these things have since been tried. The managers of Board schools in many districts visit the parents and urge the need of regular attendance at school. There is a society which provides for the teaching of invalid children who cannot attend school regularly; and some of the ladies at the Women's Settlement at Southwark make it their business to seek out children whose attend-

ance is irregular, and where possible to remove the cause of irregularity, and in many other ways give volunteer help to the Board schools.

Though she never received any encouragement from those to whom she made the suggestion, she never ceased to believe that volunteer teachers might be made use of, and even this idea has now been partly realised. In one district of Manchester some of the Board schools allow certain classes of children to attend lectures given during school hours by a lady belonging to the University Settlement there. It is an interesting fact that the lecturer in this case, Miss Stoehr, who is also the Superintendent of the women's side of the University Settlement, is one of Miss Clough's former students.

There were many other educational matters in which Miss Clough was concerned, but the examples given show sufficiently the activity of her mind on the subject. I must add that her influence in education cannot be measured by the number or importance of the movements in which she came forward and openly took part, for her influence made itself felt largely through private intercourse, and many of the ideas which she brought out in conversation led to not unimportant results in the work of others.

The subjects in which Miss Clough was interested were many and various, and the freshness of her interest in each showed an extraordinary vitality and vigour of mind. Whatever related to foreign countries, the more distant the better, had in particular a most powerful attraction for her. The thought of different nations, with different characters, customs, and ideas, gave scope for her imagination and appealed to her love of variety and her appetite for human beings. Her eyes would light up with pleasure

and eagerness as she heard or talked of them, and her mind dwelt frequently on the future developments to come from the struggles of various races.

I find among her papers some notes on subjects of this kind, perhaps intended to be read before some college society. I quote from them in order to show the direction her thoughts took. She speaks of "the importance of international intercourse as a help towards civilisation. The first means towards this is that the youth of England should study modern languages, and be able to read with facility works in several languages, and also to speak easily one or two languages besides their own. This would help nations to understand each other, and lead to friendships between natives of other countries. No doubt sciences and the study of them have united members of different nations together. We can know but little of our neighbours, even if we can read their literature. We require close intercourse and an understanding of their laws, their customs, and their ideas of religion. The intercourse of crowned heads and their families may be useful in some ways. Wars are to be avoided. But at the same time we ought to train our youth to be brave and resolute, to be able to bear hardships and privations, to have enterprise, and [a spirit of] adventure."

She goes on to speak of the condition of Africa and of the work of opening up the country, in which England, Germany, and Italy are all taking part. She writes: "The time, it would seem, for strange adventures and enterprises has not passed away. Those wonderful forests that have been penetrated by Stanley and his followers, and out of which he emerged after months of labour and

toil, still strike us with wonder, and recall to us the deeds of the ancient Greeks, when in their frail boats they explored unknown seas. When we read of these deeds, we feel that there are still openings for the youth of England, that we need not be afraid though our population grows apace. But we must see that they are fitly educated, not only with book-learning, but with many arts that will be of use in wild lands among unknown rivers and forests. They must learn the use of discipline and order, patience and courage, self-control and the power of endurance. They ought to be so educated as to be missionaries without preaching their faith, but simply by showing it."

It was one of her pet heresies that it was a good thing even for poor people to have large families, and that it was unnecessary to be alarmed at the rapid growth of population in England, because there were such hordes of black men and other uncivilised races, that it was well to have as many white ones as possible to oppose them and struggle with them for the mastery of the world.

She was deeply interested in the Colonies, and was eager about Imperial Federation. She thought that it was of the greatest importance to the Colonies that they should continue to be English, and should hold firmly to their share in the great inheritance of English history and English literature, and to the pride which they had a right to feel in the great deeds of Englishmen in past times. She seized every opportunity of acquiring information about colonial ways of life, and gained remarkable insight into them. One student from Australia tells me that in the course of a conversation with Miss Clough about an educational appointment in an Australian

town, she (the student) "almost laughed aloud at the shrewd way in which she spoke of the conditions of work in my country, a country where she had never been."

She thought much about emigration, and was always urging that people should emigrate in communities, taking a number of families from one neighbourhood, and including all the necessary elements, clergyman and schoolmaster, butcher and baker and candlestick-maker.

She wished her students to do their part in promoting international intercourse, and laid stress on the value of travel for the individual as well as the community. She had a great desire for closer intercourse with the French, and thought that we in England did not understand them and their point of view, and she wished much to get some French students to come to Newnham in order to contribute to such understanding. This is a characteristic example of the ardent spirit of enterprise which stirred her to take her part in forwarding great ends, without vanity and without any thought of herself at all, wherever she saw an opportunity. It would never have occurred to her that any individual could be too humble to help in the greatest matters, and she was simply too much interested to be able to leave things alone.

Though she encouraged the students to travel and enjoy themselves, what she really liked best was for them to go and do a piece of work in some other country. In this way they would share in the life of the people, and acquire insight into it; and in many places, too, their work was urgently needed. She did not wish them to go for ever, but to take three or four years away and then come home. When a teacher was wanted in one of the Colonies or elsewhere abroad, Miss Clough sought zealously

among her students for a suitable person, but if none of them were available, she was still eager to help in the search. On one occasion the trustees of the Girls' Grammar School at Maryborough, in Queensland, of which a former Newnham student was head mistress, decided to get another teacher from England, and they commissioned one of their number who was then in England to find a lady for them. This gentleman, finding the choice difficult, appealed to Miss Clough for help. She was interested at once. She examined the testimonials of all the candidates; she corresponded with some of them, and made private inquiries; and in the end was able to select a lady well qualified for the post. A year or two later the trustees of this school again asked her to find them another assistant mistress, and this time she succeeded in finding one among her own students; and finally she helped them in the choice of a new head mistress.

It is partly owing to this activity and to the influence of her ideas that a considerable number of Newnham students have undertaken work in different parts of the world, and that Miss Clough was able to say with pride that she had students in America, Australia, Africa, the West Indies, India, Burmah, and Japan.

She felt a particular tenderness for her students in distant lands, and I think many of them felt that they had thus a special link with her and a special opportunity of knowing her. Whether they went abroad by her arrangement or not, she was full of interest in their work and their adventures. She remembered and referred to them frequently, and never failed to speak of them at the annual Commemoration dinner. "We remember most affectionately those who have taken courage and are

working in other lands." "We send our thoughts and our greetings to our dear absent friends." Miss Fawcett, in speaking of her on one of these occasions, said: "We know that Miss Clough's interest in us after we leave college will be in direct ratio to our distance from her; but we hope she will be able to be interested in us even if we are not farther off than London."

Though she was eager for them to go, she realised all that was involved in leaving their homes for years, and going far from all their friends; and she knew the eagerness of these exiles for news of everything at home, and for some sign that they were not forgotten. She would make every effort to see them before they started; she wrote to encourage them at the last moment, seized every opportunity of sending them messages, and corresponded regularly with some of them. Their letters gave her great pleasure, and every vacation she set to work to answer them at length.

The student who went to Maryborough at her suggestion has kindly sent me Miss Clough's letters, and told me the little details of the intercourse which she had with her before going, which may serve as an example.

Miss Newman says: "I spent a night at Clough Hall with her, and remember well her kind thought for my future happiness. She promised introductions to a former student, then in Melbourne, and to a trustee of the school to which I was going. I value most highly a little green volume, *The Golden Treasury of Songs and Lyrics*, which she gave me at parting, having written my name on the flyleaf, 'With love and good wishes from Anne J. Clough.'"

Miss Newman writes: "Many letters reached me in Australia, from time to time, saying that her thoughts

were much with her students across the sea. I always marvelled at the kindness dictating these, knowing that when I left home she had no less than five hundred students, past and present, to fill her thoughts. I was especially touched by receiving a letter and a little Kate Greenaway Almanac, which she sent me by the newly-appointed head mistress, saying, 'I often think of you in your distant home among new scenes.' When I returned to England, after three and a half years' absence, I looked forward much to seeing her again, and giving her a better account of my travels than I could by letter; but when the steamer touched Teneriffe, within five days of home, I heard the sad news of her death."

The fact that they were working abroad was only one of many reasons which Miss Clough found for becoming intimate with individual students; but her long letters to those at a distance bring out particularly clearly the genuine and lively interest which she felt in her students' lives and doings. I give some extracts from them for this reason, and for the sake of the occasional glimpses which they give of her own occupations and enjoyments.

As a rule, Miss Clough's letters give little impression of her. She wrote to give her friends pleasure, and to assure them of her remembrance; and she gave her mind chiefly to telling the bits of news most likely to interest her correspondents, and to discussing their affairs. She was particularly skilful in remembering what were each person's tastes, who were their acquaintances, and what students were friends and contemporaries; but, though her comments were often characteristic and significant, these topics naturally made the interest of her letters chiefly personal and passing.

In 1889 she writes to another student, at work in Australia: "I am so delighted to hear of your appointment to the A—— School. You must be sure to get it in good order, in order to glorify Newnham. It may be difficult at first; but you have had experience of colonial people, and as you are in command, it will be easier. . . . Don't be discouraged if you find it difficult at first; but keep up your spirits, and try to make friends with the people, and get at home with them. I wish I could get as far as Australia, to see you; but it is not possible, so I shall look forward to your coming to pay me a visit in five years."

"*January* 1890.—If I can help in finding you a good teacher, pray employ me; but I think it would be better to get them from near, if they are to be found.

"I am going to look out about books, and will try to send you a list as soon as I can make one out. . . . Do you get any novels or poetry? I suppose you have the magazines in your reading-room. We are very busy settling in our new students. We have six Americans and one Norwegian. I feel especially interested in Norwegians."

"*July* 1890.—I was very glad to hear from you, and I hope your holiday has done you good. I hope you have seen some of your friends, which is always reviving. . . . I strongly advise you to make the best of your present post. Things will grow easier. . . . I should think it would certainly be best to encourage literary tastes, and something of scientific tastes and music and singing. It would be well if a department for dressmaking and cookery could be instituted, but that should be separated from the school, though connected with it. . . . I wish often I was younger, and could go to see some of my colonial students.

I think a great deal about them and their various lives. I hope the books were some good. If I could send you anything that would interest you, I should be so glad, and if there is any magazine you would like to have, I would try to send it. Magazines don't cost much. . . .

"I do hope you have had some holiday, and are enjoying yourself. I suppose you have your long holiday at Xmas, when it is very hot. I have been enjoying a month in the New Forest, with my sister-in-law and nieces. Just now I am in lodgings in the midst of the Forest. We are on a bank which is full of great trees, springing out of a green. Horses, cows, pigs, poultry and geese all wander about in the most amusing way. We take long walks and drives among the forest glades, which are very enchanting."

One of her students, who had been abroad for some years, wrote one day to Miss Clough that she was thinking of marrying and settling in India, and asked for her advice on the subject.

Miss Clough wrote in answer: "Your letter has interested me very much, especially the question of the matrimonial alliance. You ought to have given me a few more particulars. I think highly of the matrimonial estate, the happiness of having someone belonging to you, someone to do and to care for and watch over, in fact, to love and be loved by. Two people together can help each other to seek for the highest. But the question is, do you know each other enough? When a woman has reached the age of forty, or nearly that, as I suppose you have, she has settled habits, and independent habits. Can you change them, or will you be able to continue a good deal of your independence and your general way of life?

"There must be a great field in India for a useful and interesting life. Anyone with intellectual interests might succeed in communicating them, and in helping the young English people who come abroad in doing things for the natives. And if you had true affection, with congenial pursuits, or partly congenial, a beautiful home life might be built up. I should think that High School life might become very tedious and wearisome. Good posts are not very easy to find in England, and the work of a teacher is very fatiguing. But I think you could find posts; perhaps the most comfortable would be in a family.

"But I think that you ought to have good knowledge of each other. A woman of forty has power to mould circumstances, she can look difficulties in the face, and plan how to surmount them. An entirely new position has to be made if you marry. Have you goodwill and affection enough, and wisdom and patience enough, to take up the position and build it up with your partner? If you have, take courage. There should be a great foundation of affection, some congeniality of pursuit and understanding of each other. If these foundations can be laid, I should say, take courage. No doubt, on your way there will come storms and difficulties, but strong, brave hearts and hands will overcome them. But these steps should be taken in the fear and love of God, with a strong resolution to fight through to the end. On these matters people must judge for themselves. Be assured that if you come to England, and want to get work, I will do my best for you, and you have still friends left here. . . . I advise you to get to know the character of the gentleman; and, anyhow, might it not be well to have your own money secured on yourself? The Women's Property Act does

that for you to a certain extent, but you must arrange it, I should think."

To the same lady Miss Clough wrote in 1890: "I hope that you are suffering less from the climate. It must be a great satisfaction that the pupils are improving. There seems to be plenty of work for women, if they know how to do it, and are persevering. I wish some of the Englishwomen of leisure would undertake to do work abroad for a couple of years, for really they can hardly be expected to spend their lives in those very desolate places, and they might bear up and be useful for two or three years. I should like to make a circle of teachers moving round. I think that plan might answer. When you come back, we can consult over the plan.

"I am glad to hear you are writing in the —— papers. It must be a good thing. I suppose the society must be very mixed; some grains of gold in it, I hope."

"1890.—I am thinking much of you in those tropical heats which you describe so vividly in your letter of April 27. I suppose it is hardly any cooler. Here I am sitting under the shade of the trees of the New Forest, one of the most beautiful parts of England. I wish you could walk with us under the shade of these lovely beech trees, and sit among the green fern, so cool and shady. Happily there are gleams of sunshine to brighten the scene, and when we drive we pass by hayfields, and see the pretty work of tossing and carting going on. The tribes of trippers come by train to amuse themselves in the Forest, among them many children, who are busy with games. I am afraid, after all, you will miss the loveliness of the flowers and the sunshine when you come back to England. You don't remember enough our dull sunless skies and all

the rain. Still, I feel England enough for me. . . . It will be very pleasant to see you and hear of your experience. I think you must have sown good seed in A., and that some of it has sprung up. . . . We can only do our best and be hopeful. It is a blessing to have the opportunity of trying to do what one can. . . . I trust you will be hopeful, and feel that your work is worth the effort, and that hitherto it has borne fruit; and so, wishing you courage and strength, I say farewell, and may God bless you and speed you on your way."

Miss Clough was not only eager to send her students abroad, she was delighted to have students of different nationalities at Newnham. She enjoyed making their acquaintance herself, and she thought that they brought new ideas to the other students, and helped to form another international link. Mrs. Ward reports that it used to be said among the students that Miss Clough would never be content till she secured, at least, an Eskimo and a Hottentot, and that she would send the one back to her country with a new and excellent plan for keeping out the cold, and the other with a device for improving her countrywomen's personal appearance. A Mahomedan gentleman once came to see her, to inquire about the organisation of the college, and she speculated for some time afterwards on the chance of his sending one or two of his wives to go through a University course.

Though she never had such glorious opportunities as these, there came to Newnham, in the course of time, representatives of a good many different countries. There have been numerous American students, two German ladies, several Norwegians, and a Russian, as well as

English students from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Cape.

Miss Clough had a special regard for Americans. She could never forget that she had lived in America and found friends there, though she had been almost a child at the time; and she remembered always that her brother Arthur had been warmly welcomed in America, and that his poetry was perhaps more widely appreciated there than in England. She was never happy if she had not at least one American student, and when one year there were six in the college, it was with difficulty that she resigned herself to their not all being in her own Hall.

She took endless pains to make her foreign and colonial students feel at home, and was specially anxious to assure herself of their comfort and happiness, since they were at a distance from home, and among strangers, and in this way they, like her students abroad, had special opportunities of becoming acquainted with her. She wrote regularly to some of them after they left college and went home.

In 1891 she writes to one, whose home was at the Cape, about the University Extension Students at Cambridge: "I have been thinking that perhaps some time University Extension might reach to South Africa. Ask your father what he thinks of it. The lecturer might learn something himself. I should think that history and literature would take. A good lecturer might spend a year in South Africa, and go from one colony to another."

And to an American student she writes: "We have had three Norwegians as students this year, very interesting women—and now we have as visitor a Norwegian

lady who has a large school in Christiania. She is very cultivated, and has told us a great deal about Norwegian literature, Ibsen, etc. They seem to be a powerful people, with many thoughts; but they are compressed, and she laments their country being so small. They have but a small circle of readers, and have to be translated to be made known, and she says their writers cannot be properly translated."

There was one visitor from a distance whose coming made an interesting episode in Miss Clough's life, and who was much with her at Newnham, though never formally a student of the college. About 1882, a Californian lady, not previously known to Miss Clough, wrote to her asking for advice about the education of her daughter, whom she hoped to send to Newnham a few years later. Miss Clough answered the letter, giving what advice she could, and heard no more for three years. Then the lady wrote again to say that it was impossible for her to make satisfactory arrangements about her daughter's education at home, and asked if she might come to Newnham at once, and if she could be taken in there in the vacations. The girl was under the age for entering Newnham, but Miss Clough wrote that she might come, and that she would arrange for her to live and be taught elsewhere till she was ready to enter college. The answer came swiftly that the girl, Alma, would come in two months or less, and that Miss Clough was to look on her as her own, and make what arrangements she thought well for her. Apparently Miss Clough's heart failed her for a moment at the prospect of acquiring an unknown daughter, for she wrote to suggest that the girl should go to a school which was known to her in America. However, Alma arrived, and

was duly adopted. Fortunately, she was charming, made to win Miss Clough's heart—graceful, gentle, full of enjoyment, incapable of being troublesome.

Alma stayed in England for three years, two were spent at school, and one only at Newnham. Then she was wanted at home, and had to leave without following any University course of study. During all this time she was much in the position of a daughter to Miss Clough. She spent her holidays at Newnham, or with friends by Miss Clough's arrangement. Miss Clough took her to parties, bought her clothes, settled what she should learn at school, and wrote her letters of good advice. Naturally, some anxiety and some trouble were involved, but they were made as light as possible by the character of her charge, and Miss Clough felt herself amply compensated by her pleasure in her Californian daughter. They wrote to each other at intervals when Alma went home, and Alma has preserved not only Miss Clough's letters to her in America, but also those written to her while at school in England. These are full of care and thought for every detail of her doings. The injunctions about clothes (for which the Californian daughter had a decided taste) are often characteristic and amusing. "Don't get the pink dress, it won't look nice or be useful. . . . If you want it very much, I will see about it after Easter, and get it perhaps in London."

July 1889.—She writes to her in California: "I wish I could come to see you, but I am really too old for such a journey. I like to hear of your doings and the people you see, that wild girl, for instance, who shoots and rides. I hope the young boy you spoke of teaching Latin to has got into college. We are here in Wild Wales among the

mountains, staying with Mr. and Mrs. Ellis, whom you may remember seeing at Newnham. They have five boys, and so the house is very lively. We go drives and walks, and gather flowers. They are very beautiful, I think they can hardly be more beautiful with you. Such lovely asphodels and small St. John's worts, quantities of forget-me-not, delicate little white galium, harebells and campions. It is quite charming to see them growing thick in the bogs, along the walls, and in the ditches. We are not far from Cardigan Bay, which you can find in the map of England and Wales. We are just at the top of the bay, and there are mountains not far from the sea running all along, Snowdon at one end and Cader towards the other, and it is so charming to watch the mountains and the sea.

"I was in Liverpool and New Brighton for a fortnight visiting schools. I thought of you steaming away on the river. . . . I wonder if you could send us some Californian flower seeds or vegetables, but you must tell us how to manage them, and where and when to plant them. I should like to grow the egg-plant, I used to be very fond of it. Some of your friends who are coming to England might post a parcel for us, and we should rejoice in seeing Californian flowers about us. . . . Farewell, my dear child. I do not forget you, and never shall. Perhaps some day you will cross the seas again."

I have spoken more than once of Miss Clough's suggestiveness and fertility in expedients, and her educational work furnishes examples of this; but it was shown in every matter, small or great, to which she turned her attention. A few small instances will show the variety of subjects on which she exercised her ingenuity. She proposed many years ago that railway banks should be utilised

for growing fruit, so that it might be brought within reach of the poor; she suggested the publication by the Teachers' Guild of a list of holiday resorts in all parts of the country; and she proposed that in order to supply the needs of Extension students, surplus books should be bought from circulating libraries, and sent round from centre to centre.

Miss Gardner writes of her plans for individuals, that "her remarkable fruitfulness in resources put new spirit into people who told any troubles to Miss Clough. Her expedients were not always practicable, but the impulse to try and do something kept one from sitting down to grieve. A friend of mine had a very delicate baby; she knew of a very weak baby that had been kept in an incubator and grew up all right—she would inquire about incubators at once. A poor woman with a family had just lost her husband—Miss Clough thought at once of some lady who wanted a woman to keep her lodge. A young teacher had been deceived and cheated by an unscrupulous employer—Miss Clough knew a good lawyer who would give his opinion and advice. One often feels now how much one would give for five minutes' talk with her on practical difficulties."

Though many of her schemes were good and valuable, many were, no doubt,—as Miss Gardner remarks,—impracticable; and some dealt with matters of which she could have very little knowledge, and might fairly be called audacious. For though she was cautious in action, her thoughts could not be repressed by respect for what was established, or the fear of being mistaken, and she was so active-minded that she could not let things be, and assume that everything possible had been already done and thought of. When, for instance, she was travelling

through the country at harvest-time, and saw the corn standing in the fields, she would exclaim against the stupidity of farmers, and say that they ought to co-operate and join their forces to carry the corn, first on one farm and then on another. She could not rest contented in the assumption that the farmers must know their own business best. At the same time she regarded everything from so fresh and individual a point of view, and was so little hampered by preconceptions, that, like the proverbial outsider, she could sometimes make noteworthy comments on a game which she only looked at from afar. And those who knew her well came to feel that her imagination, her intuitions, and her real knowledge of human nature, made it always worth while to examine carefully any suggestion coming from her, however unpromising it might appear. She was not wanting in respect for superior knowledge, and she submitted readily to the correction or condemnation of her ideas, though she had a maternal tenderness for them, and often a doubt whether the well-informed were not sometimes too little disposed to try experiments. She thought, at anyrate, it could do no harm to make a suggestion, and let those concerned "consider whether anything could be done about it."

She was much impressed by the dull and isolated lives led by many of the country clergy, and she devised original and elaborate schemes for improving matters. She fully believed that her plans might be worked, if only those in authority could be induced to consider them. She wrote as follows concerning some of the clergy "who live in out-of-the-way places, with very little opportunity of change. They have not money enough to get books

and magazines to learn how the thoughts of the world and the course of events are progressing; they see few people. The great danger is, that they will stagnate. That is one of the worst of evils." She suggests that the large dioceses might be divided into districts, and a small committee formed in each, including clergymen and laymen, "to make plans for the improvement of the district and to help in its development." In forming these districts it should be arranged for town and country to be united in one district—"They might help each other." She goes on to make further suggestions. "There ought to be exchanges made. The town clergyman should go into a country parish for a year. The change of air would be good for him and his family, and he would bring some of the life of the town and its activities into the country. The town clergyman might take the holiday children into his country parish, and encourage his richer friends to visit his part of the country. In the winter perhaps some might come to help with Christmas festivities. The country clergyman would be enlivened by the bustle and stir of the town, and would bring some of his quiet thoughts and composure. His family would enjoy the change, and would be stirred up by it. When at the end of a year or two they returned, each side would have gained, and they might continue to keep up some intercourse and to be of use to each other."

She goes on to remark that the Wesleyan minister who changes his cure every three years, "must get a wide view of the world and of people."

Among the various undertakings, small and great, in which Miss Clough was interested, was the Sunday school for working men, which was started by some Newnham

students, and which has been already referred to in a passage quoted from Miss Hughes. She was always anxious to hear how it was prospering; she was frequently consulted by the managers, and when difficulties arose, she sometimes took an active part. On one occasion she read a paper to the men on the bringing up of their children, some parts of which are perhaps worth quoting. She says: "Children, it would seem, ought to draw people out of themselves. The mother, who has the most to do for them, needs the help and support of her husband, and as they go on in life more care is needed and self-denial on the part of both parents. For the children's sake, the parents must try to be all that is worthy and of good report, that they may learn to honour their parents and seek after what is good. . . . The question I should like to ask you is, How can we help you in bringing up and setting out your children? You are so busy, many of you, that you have not time to think what is best for them. Could other people help you to plan?" She speaks of the boys becoming errand-boys—"This may be good for their health in some ways, but they ought still to go on with their education, and this parents should consider. . . . The parents must try to keep them up to improving themselves, because their future depends on this. . . . Would classes in joinering, in shoemending, in blacksmith's work, help for a few hours a week? These would be good trades to learn for those who might wish to emigrate. We might add gardening.

"When the boys grow to be fifteen or sixteen, they ought to be looking forward to improving themselves, and you might be thinking and planning what they shall do. You know better what openings there are in Cambridge for

boys than we do, but I am sure there are people who will help you to think about it and plan, and the more boys learn to use both their heads and hands, the more likely they are to succeed. For many strong and active boys who want to see the world, the army and navy are openings; they need not stay all their lives. If you could think of anything that would help in preparing the boys for their futures, so that they may grow up honest and industrious, and to be an honour to Cambridge and their native land, it would be a great pleasure to the teachers of this school, and those who are interested in it, to try and make your wishes known, and to get advice from some of the wise men in Cambridge.

"A great scheme has been made by General Booth to try to raise the miserable helpless poor in London out of their degradation. Perhaps some scheme could be made here in Cambridge to prevent the youth of Cambridge from falling into poverty and misery, by opening out the way for them to improve their state and to better themselves. Industry and honesty and steadiness and accuracy are great qualities. But when others stand round and encourage and help, they give backbone to energy, and strength to the strivers to persevere."

Another undertaking in which Miss Clough took a deep interest was the Women's University Settlement at Southwark, started by the students of Newnham and Girton Colleges in 1887. The idea was suggested by two papers on "University Settlements," read at a meeting in Cambridge by Mrs. S. A. Barnett and Miss Alice Grüner, a former Newnham student, who was then doing some work of the kind. It was warmly taken up by some of the students at the two colleges, and it was quickly

decided to form an association, and to invite other women's colleges to join in founding a Settlement in Southwark.

Miss Clough was much interested from the first, and hoped that a great deal might come of such a movement, and that settlements might in time be established all over London and in many other places, but she was urgent in advising those concerned to begin modestly and tentatively, and "in a small way." At an early stage of the proceedings, the Newnham promoters of the enterprise held a meeting of the whole college, to get support from the students. For a little while there was some doubt if this support would be given; everyone was asking questions as to how this and that difficulty would be met. Miss Clough turned the tide of doubt and confusion by getting up and saying gently, but very impressively: "I think we must have a little faith, and a little hope."

The Settlement in Southwark was founded, and has grown and prospered, under the headship first of Miss Grüner, then of Miss Argles of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, and finally of Miss Sewell, another old Newnham student. Miss Clough watched its career with great interest; she went occasionally to Southwark to see it, and she always attended the meetings held at Newnham in connection with it, and talked over its doings and possibilities with Miss Sewell on her occasional visits. It was the only thing for which she would allow an appeal to be made to the students for money. Hungry philanthropists no doubt regard any community as excellent prey, and Miss Clough was frequently asked if each of the students might not be asked to give sixpence to one good object or another, but she stood like a lion in the way. She knew that each of

the students had probably claims of the same kind at home, and she knew also that many of them had quite enough to do with their sixpences, and she was determined to protect them. But she thought that they might do this one thing as University women, and in recognition of their special position and duties as such.

Many things combined to make intercourse with Miss Clough a source of pleasure and satisfaction. Her sympathy, her varied interests, her suggestiveness, and the wisdom which came out by the way were all important elements in this, but not the least important was the fact that she was always entertaining. This was due in part, no doubt, to her amusing little oddities and idiosyncracies, but still more to her readiness to enjoy, her gaiety and humour, and to a refreshing element of the unexpected about her.

She advised her students to take the small pleasures of life, and she practised her own precepts. She not only enjoyed beautiful and interesting places, she found something to admire and to take pleasure in every day and at every turn. And her human surroundings were an inexhaustible source of enjoyment and amusement to her. She liked to see the students playing tennis and dancing, and it was an entertainment to her to watch the doings of one person or another. She was quick to observe little weaknesses and peculiarities, and was always ready to make and to hear little jokes about the characters and manners and customs of different individuals. She often delighted her students by some little phrase, which revealed that she had noticed, and smiled to herself at some little trait which no one knew she was aware of.

It is almost impossible to find instances of the sayings

which caused so much amusement at the time which are not too slight or too personal. At one time there were two students in the college, who went to opposite extremes in dress. One wore trailing robes, and the other unusually short dresses. The first intimation that Miss Clough had noticed their peculiarities was her remark one muddy day to the wearer of robes: "My dear, you should ask Miss S. to lend you one of her short skirts." She was once met on her way to call on a couple who were known to be much engrossed in each other's society, and when asked her destination, she announced complacently that "she was going to disturb the T——s." No doubt the flavour of mockery in her little speeches was particularly appreciated owing to her well-known kindliness of nature, and to the ideas of dignity and discretion naturally associated with her position.

There was often a quaint contrast between the subjects she talked of and the words she used. Her language was always simple, colloquial, and domestic, and she used it with hardly any modification in discussing subjects usually treated with a formal and academic phraseology. No one but Miss Clough, for instance, would have said, when some of her students failed to reach the heights expected of them in certain examinations, that "Mathematics was a deceiving subject." Her remarks were often amusing too, because they left so much unsaid, and expressed so much by implication, and this, and the unusual turn of the phrases, caused her sayings to be repeated all over the college, and led one student to say that a day was always dull in which one had not exchanged some words with her. I went once with her to stay for a few days with some people whom we had neither of us met before. My first

impressions were decidedly unfavourable, and I was depressed at the prospect. When we were left alone in our rooms, I expected some comment from my aunt on our new acquaintances, but she only looked round the room and remarked, "Well, we shall be able to sit a good deal in our bedrooms." I may add that we were both quite mistaken, and never had the slightest wish to sit in those bedrooms.

In the course of conversation she would frequently evolve little schemes of the most unexpected kind. Miss Creak reports, for instance, the following conversation concerning a fellow-student:—"My dear, do you remember Miss So and So?" "Yes, Miss Clough." "Well, my dear, the poor little thing has got a lot of tiresome relations, and as soon as she gets a little money they come round her and get it away from her, so I have got her a post in (say) Timbuctoo." "Yes, Miss Clough." "Then, my dear, when she is settled there, you know, she can send for her relations." "Yes, Miss Clough" (more doubtfully). "And then, my dear, when she has got them all over there, she can come back to England and leave them."

She found many hopelessly tiresome people tolerable, because there was some amusement to be got out of them, and her sense of humour supported her in many annoying situations. I remember travelling by night with her to Holyhead in a carriage with a crying baby. I was much annoyed by the disturbance; but my aunt had no feeling but interest in the baby, and amusement at my disgust.

She liked nothing better than a talk with a lively or humorous acquaintance, and would listen with genial appreciation to satirical comments on people and things,

though she was not often led into severity herself. She disliked over-seriousness, and sometimes complained that the college debates were too serious. "You were all so solemn," she would say. She liked things touched lightly, and did not wish to talk unnecessarily of very serious matters. She had an instinctive dislike of sentimentality or any unnecessary stirring up of feelings, and this came out in some of her speeches to the students with rather a bad effect on their coherence. She would break off from impressive words about the past and future of the college, or thoughtful advice as to their future lives, to tell some amusing incident, or insist upon some practical detail. "And do remember to send your addresses to our dear secretary, Miss Kennedy."

Her humour was shown, I think, entirely in connection with character, and she had little appreciation of the more intellectual forms of humour, of humorous fancy, or anything of the nature of wit. She had, indeed, I should say, little taste for anything purely intellectual, apart from human life, though she recognised and reckoned with it in others.

There was a vein of poetry in her which gave a charm to her sayings on the most everyday subjects, and which showed itself in her fondness for metaphors, though her metaphors were frequently marred by her difficulty in expression. Thus she was fond of comparing the college to a little boat tossing on the stormy seas, holding on to its course in spite of perils from rocks and winds and waves; and she spoke sometimes of the ladies of an older generation as stately flowers adorning beautiful gardens. She was quick to perceive what was heroic or touching in people and their actions, and had a sort of imaginative

grasp of a character or a situation. One instance of this was her admiration of Columbus, and the vision she had of him sailing for weeks and months over the unknown and lonely sea, a type of courage and faith and the spirit of adventure. She delighted in the associations of Cambridge, and liked to picture to herself "the kings and queens and princesses, the founders of the stately colleges which rise up amid green meadows and gardens, guarded by ivy-covered walls and by the slowly-moving stream, and the learned men who have studied there, and advanced knowledge and true religion."

One student writes as follows of the pleasure of intercourse with her: "Perhaps it was her individuality, and the sense of an unexplored depth of power and interestingness in her, which was so attractive to me. In spite of her simplicity and sincerity and humility, she always felt to me like an unread book, and this made me want to know more and more of her. . . . In comparison with her, other people seemed to be tame and ordinary, however many virtues they possessed. . . . Another point that I cared for was her excessive interest in everything, especially in everything human, and her pleasure in everything that was beautiful and interesting round her. Combined with this, her critical insight and humour made her company delightful."

Miss Clough's work at the college and among her students, and her many new interests, did not cause her to lose sight of her family and her old friends, and she never ceased to be full of care and affection for them all. She paid visits frequently both to her brother Charles and his wife, and to Mrs. Arthur Clough, and took a lively interest in all that concerned her numerous nephews and nieces

Mr. and Mrs. Charles Clough both died before her—Mrs. Clough in 1886, and Mr. Clough the following year. She liked to have her family with her at Cambridge, and Mrs. Arthur Clough came often, and spent most of one summer with her children at Merton Hall. Mr. Charles Clough's daughters also stayed with her frequently, and she kept up communication with all his children. Her brother Arthur's eldest daughter Florence was with her for a time as a student of the college; and some years later, in 1884, I also became a student, and then stayed on at Newnham as her secretary. Her nephew Arthur was at Trinity for four years, and it was a great pleasure to her to have this opportunity of seeing a good deal of him.

As soon as she was settled in Cambridge, she brought her old friend, Miss Crofton, to live near her; and when she moved into Newnham Hall, Miss Crofton was allowed to have rooms in the building, and lived there till her death the following year. She had many visitors at Cambridge, both old friends and new. Miss Margaret Calder came once at least in every year, and Miss Bonham Carter was often with her; and she constantly asked new acquaintances whom she made in the vacations to come and stay with her, and see "the beauties of Cambridge." She always made opportunities for her visitors to see and make acquaintance with some of the students, to their mutual satisfaction, and remembered skilfully all sorts of little reasons which might make one person interesting to another. "Miss A. was at school with the daughter of your friend, Mrs. X.; and Miss B. comes from South Africa, and can tell you all about that book you were reading." She knew that chance visitors were often curious to see what Newnham students were like, and she

thought it good for the students to see pleasant people of various kinds.

She generally collected a small party of friends round her at Christmas, among them often people who, she thought, needed a little sympathy and change to cheer and rouse them, sometimes foreigners who were likely to have a dull Christmas time, and she succeeded in enjoying herself and being entertained by her guests, as well as in giving them a pleasant time.

Once she had a visit from an old Ambleside pupil, Miss Isabella Nicholson, of whom she had seen little since she gave up the school. Miss Nicholson writes of this visit, which gave great pleasure both to her and to Miss Clough, as follows:—"It was to me a most joyful meeting, and though it was seventeen years since we had seen each other, we fell quite naturally into our old positions. I was both touched and amused to see that during my visit she never quite realised that her little old pupil, though still so small, was really grown up. The students were quite young women in her eyes, whilst I, who was so much older, was still a child to be protected and petted and looked after. It was like the Eller How days returned. One of the first things she did was to buy me an illustrated guide to Cambridge, so that I might read about what I saw, and in this way impress it upon my mind. . . . It was the beginning of the vacation when I was there, and only about forty students and a few teachers were still in residence. Some of them were deputed to take me about when Miss Clough was engaged or resting, and exceedingly kind they were to me. I was very much astonished to find that one of these ladies, who I had thought was a student of some twenty years of age, was really a teacher

of some, to me unknown and unpronounceable, sciences. 'She looks so young to be a teacher,' I said, but my hostess corrected my impression. 'She is not so very young,' she replied; 'but she is doing the work she likes best, and when people can have the occupation that suits and pleases them, it keeps them young and fresh, I think.'"

Miss Clough still kept up her connection with Ambleside and her interest in its affairs, and went there from time to time to see her old friends and pupils. She went, too, occasionally to Liverpool. But she was not content with going only to the places and people that she already knew. She particularly enjoyed seeing fresh places and making new acquaintances, and in her vacations she seldom stayed long at any one place. She went abroad a few times to France and Germany and Switzerland, and she travelled much in England, and went several times to Ireland. Irish people had a great attraction for her, and she had friends to visit there, and soon made more. She liked to make elaborate geographical combinations, and to use all the opportunities of any little journey. When she was going to one place, she would think of several others she might look in at on the way, and remember numbers of people who had asked her to come and see them some time. If she went to Ireland, she would throw in Wales and Chester, and probably Rugby, on the way back. When she went to an educational meeting at York, she inserted three visits between that place and Ambleside, and two more on the way back. It seems an exhausting way of taking a holiday, but if it tired her body, it refreshed her mind. Wherever she went she was interested, and she always brought back a gallery of vivid mental pictures. She was an easy visitor to entertain, for she was an inter-

ested spectator of all that was going on, and ready to enter into the affairs of everyone, and was equally pleased with a garden party or a school treat. Wherever she went, she made new and frequently lasting friendships.

She could hardly travel for a few hours in the train without becoming acquainted with her fellow travellers. A characteristic example of this has been given me by a Greek lady, Mdlle. Kalopotheikes. This lady, when quite young, was travelling alone across England on her way to America, and at Euston she got into a carriage with two ladies. She writes to me: "I had very severe neuralgia, caught while crossing the Channel, and I suppose I looked rather ill, for it was not long before the elder of the two ladies turned to me and asked if I would not lie down. I did so, and when I awoke, much refreshed, I found that her fur cloak was thrown over my rug. Then we had a pleasant talk; she was full of interest, and wished to know how I came to be travelling alone so far. When she mentioned her connection with Newnham, I was greatly pleased to think that this was Miss Clough, of whom I had heard so much, and my delight was still greater when I found she knew D—— P——, and how highly she spoke of her. At Liverpool Miss Clough put me into the charge of a porter, who took my luggage to the hotel, and I bade her good-bye, not expecting to see her again. The next morning, as I was writing home an account of my meeting with her, Miss Clough was announced. . . . In spite of the distance and the weather, and the early hour of day, she had come into Liverpool to assure herself that all was right with her young fellow traveller'

She always talked freely of what was interesting her at the moment, and would come back and tell the students

of all the people and places she had seen, with the most infectious animation. She talked, too, of the books she was reading, of some article in the *Spectator*, or one of the magazines. She managed to read a good deal at all times, and had no difficulty in turning her mind from her anxieties about the college to the manners and customs of the Japanese, or the latest experiment in philanthropy. She was fond of reading novels, and took a most amusing interest in the lives and fortunes of the characters. She talked about Anna Karénine, as someone remarked, just as if she was a Newnham student, and she discussed what effect higher education would have had on Esther Vanhomrigh, and which of her own acquaintances Esther would have been most likely to fall in love with.

Though she travelled about the country so much, and had so many friends and interests outside Cambridge, it very soon became a real home to her, and she always returned to it with a sense of peace and contentment. She delighted in the place and its associations, and in the sense of living under the shadow of the University which she revered; and she found great enjoyment in the society of Cambridge, and was interested in all that went on. She gradually acquired a large circle of friends, and among them some with whom she was on terms of very great intimacy and affection, and whose friendship was an immense help and pleasure to her. She found her most intimate friends, perhaps, among those who shared her interests and with whom she worked for many years, but she had many much-valued friends outside this circle. When she first came to Cambridge, she was anxious for the sake of her undertaking to lose no opportunity of making friends. She knew that a little feeling of kindliness

towards those engaged in it might be enough to turn critical distaste into good-humoured tolerance, and that tolerance might in time grow into goodwill. But considerations of this kind only strengthened her natural social instincts, and it was not by any acts of policy that she earned the affection and respect of a large number of people in Cambridge.

Though Newnham gave her plenty to do, she could always find time to visit a friend who was ill, or who she thought might be dull or lonely. She remembered everyone, and invented all manner of little kindnesses. She arranged for the children of one of her friends to come and play tennis on the college tennis-courts in vacation time, because they had only a small garden at home, and she knew the boy must want some amusement in his holidays. When another friend was ill and kept in her room for a long time, Miss Clough not only went often to see her, but she took pictures to hang up where she could see them, "just to make a little variety."

She did not consider that sympathy was only needed for the greater and more obvious ills of life. She was particularly anxious to help people who she thought were dull. I remember that when I travelled with her once in Switzerland, she insisted on buying all sorts of objects in carved wood merely to please the sellers, because "they must be so dull in winter."

One characteristic of Miss Clough's which often attracted the attention of her Cambridge friends was her faculty for remembering their children's names. It was not that she tried to learn them, but she was so much interested in the children that she could not help remembering their names. And she was not merely interested

in the children for their parents' sake, she cared about them for themselves as little individuals. It was only one little sign of her extraordinary capacity for caring about individuals, but it was a very clear and convincing one, and impressed people curiously.

She seemed to establish a relation with every human being she came across, and it was almost impossible to hand her the salt or to open the door for her without receiving in a word or a look some recognition of your individuality. She always had a human relation with those with whom she did business, both great and small. She disliked leaving one shop for another, because it might hurt the shopkeeper's feelings; and she was so gentle and considerate to those who served her that in one shop the assistants used to compete for the pleasure of attending to her.

She took great interest in her servants, and thought much about their lives and characters, and her own servants, and often those of her friends also, were much attached to her. At one friend's house the maid who opened the door fell in love with her, and determined to be her servant some day. She came eventually to be parlour-maid at Newnham and Miss Clough's particular attendant, and stayed with her till her death. As in Ambleside years she used to give part of her evening after school was over to teaching the cook to read, so when she first came to Newnham she used to give lessons in writing to the boy employed in the house. On one occasion she organised a class for children in the college gymnasium, and a number of children came with their nurses in attendance. Miss Clough went to look at them, and, seeing the nurses all sitting in a row, she went and

introduced them to one another, "to make them feel more comfortable."

The following sentence from a letter written after her death, by a former student of Girton College, indicates the feeling which she aroused in many who had not the opportunity of knowing her intimately: "I was one of the thousand people to whom Miss Clough was kind as she passed, and I am therefore one of the thousand to whom her death is a personal sorrow, and the thought of her an enrichment."

Another striking testimony to the regard felt for her by her Cambridge friends was given by Professor Liveing in the course of a speech at the opening of the new buildings of the Cambridge Training College in 1895. In speaking of those who had supported this College in its early days, he said, "As for Miss Clough, to know her was to love her."

The qualities which made Miss Clough so lovable and her company so delightful were so strongly felt in all intercourse with her that there is a danger of dwelling upon them too exclusively, and giving too little prominence to other sides of her character. And yet this intercourse itself gained an additional flavour from the knowledge of the force of character, effective capacity, and far-seeing aims which lay behind her more obvious characteristics, and from the fact that she, who had always time to think and care for an individual, and to be interested in whatever was interesting, was all the time conducting a great undertaking, and in the course of it dealing with innumerable problems, recognising and weighing all kinds of considerations, and surmounting one obstacle after another with indomitable resolution.

CHAPTER IX

LATER HISTORY OF NEWNHAM COLLEGE. LAST YEARS

THE settlement of 1880, by which Newnham was incorporated as a college, the opening of a second Hall, which at once doubled the number of students, and the recognition accorded to it by the University, gave the whole undertaking a more formal and established character, and led to a more complete organisation of the work. The college is ruled by a Council consisting of not less than twenty members, who, under the arrangement of 1880,[1] were elected by the subscribers and honorary members: the last-named being chosen by the subscribers from among the professors and lecturers who admitted women to their lectures. The Council meets ordinarily four times a year, and entrusts the current business to various committees.

Professor Cayley became the first President of the Council, and Mr. Coutts Trotter the first Vice-President.

[1] The constitution of the college, established by the settlement of 1880, was altered in 1893, in order to give effect to a wish which had been for some time felt by the Council, and in which Miss Clough warmly shared, to give a considerable share in the government of the college to former students. Under the amended constitution a body of Associates was created, whose position in some degree resembles that of honorary Fellows. These Associates are chosen from members of the staff or former students, and have the right of voting for the election of members of the Council. They were, in the first instance, 30 in number, but will eventually be increased to 48. Of the first 30, 20 were elected by the votes of all former students who had resided for a certain period, and 10 by the Council, but later elections are made by the Associates themselves.

Mr. Trotter held this office until his death in 1887, when he was succeeded by the Master of Gonville and Caius (Dr. Ferrers). Professor Cayley continued to preside over the Council until 1890, when his health obliged him to resign. He was succeeded by the Master of Christ's (Dr. Peile).

Newnham is naturally proud of the distinguished men who have given their help and support, and takes particular pleasure in its association with the names of Professor Adams, who was President of the Lectures Association till it was dissolved, and was then for ten years a member of the College Council, and Professor Cayley, the first President of the College.

There was now a considerable resident staff in the college. In 1880 there were three lecturers and a secretary with Miss Clough in the South Hall. Miss Gladstone was secretary to Mrs. Sidgwick in the North Hall, and Miss Martin (now Mrs. James Ward) was resident lecturer there. The resident lecturers, besides teaching and advising the students in their respective subjects, have always been in the habit of giving any help in the care of the students that was needed by the Principal or Vice-Principal. In 1882 Mrs. Sidgwick resigned the vice-principalship, after having fairly started the new Hall on its course. The students who were under her during her two years' stay in the college showed keen appreciation of their privileges, and look back with peculiar pleasure to their intercourse with Mrs. Sidgwick at that time. Miss Clough, in giving an account of the college at Belfast a few years later, spoke of Mr. and Mrs. Sidgwick's residence at Newnham. "The fact that Mr. and Mrs. Sidgwick's interest in the college was so great as to induce

them to take such a step, will ever be remembered, by all connected with the college, with lively gratitude, affection, and reverence. The wisdom, grace, and endless sympathy which shone forth in all Mrs. Sidgwick's relations with the students, must ever shed a lustre over the Hall."

The Vice-Principalship was accepted by Miss Helen Gladstone, who had been for nearly three years a student with Miss Clough, and for two years secretary to Mrs. Sidgwick.[1]

The number of students continued to increase steadily, and the pressure of applications for admission was so great that every few years some new addition was made to the building. A new wing was added to the first Hall in 1882, which included a delightful library for the use of the whole college; two years later a new wing was added to the North Hall. The additional rooms were rapidly filled, and in 1884 there were ninety students in residence. The growth of the study of natural sciences at Cambridge caused the University laboratories for biological work to be much crowded about this time, and it was difficult to provide the increasing number of women students with accommodation there. It became necessary, therefore, to provide a biological laboratory for the women, in addition to the chemical laboratory which they already possessed, and accordingly, in 1884, a building conveniently placed in the centre of Cambridge was bought by the Council of Newnham and fitted up for the purpose. The greater

[1] Miss Gladstone held this post till Christmas 1896, when, to the very great regret of everyone connected with the college, she felt herself called upon to resign it. All who have worked with Miss Gladstone, or seen anything of her work, are aware how much Newnham owes to her character, to her disinterested devotion, and to her administrative powers, and how great the loss is to the college.

part of the sum needed for this purpose was given by Mrs. Sidgwick and Miss Balfour in memory of their brother, Mr. F. M. Balfour. The laboratory has been called the Balfour Laboratory, and a replica of the bust of Mr. Balfour, which is in the possession of the University, was presented to it by those Newnham students who had had the privilege of attending his lectures. Mr. Balfour gave valuable help to the college in its earlier years, and this lasting memorial of his connection with it is naturally felt to be a great honour.

In the spring of 1886, the Council decided to build a third Hall to accommodate about fifty students, and to include a large dining-hall. This hall was to serve as a dining-room for the new block of buildings, and also to provide—what was urgently needed, now that the number of students was so much increased—a room large enough to contain all the students of the college and something more.

The cost of building and furnishing the new block of buildings, and of laying out additional grounds, was estimated at £20,000, and the Council had again to ask for subscriptions. Many of the friends who had been so generous before came forward again. Mr. Stephen Winkworth, whose death in 1886 deprived the college of a most kind friend, had promised a donation to defray the extra cost of larger rooms in the new Hall, and Mrs. Winkworth, in order to carry out his wishes, gave £1500, and added a further sum of £500. Over £600 was contributed by friends in Cambridge alone, exclusive of £2000 given by Professor and Mrs. Sidgwick, and £300 was subscribed by former students. Mr. Coutts Trotter, at his death in 1887, left to Newnham a sum of £1600,

as well as a large part of his library (about 2400 volumes) and his valuable collection of scientific instruments. Eventually, about two-thirds of the money required was raised, and the remainder was borrowed.[1]

Since the Hall in which Miss Clough was living was (at that time) smaller than the new building, and since the fact that the college hall was attached to the latter might seem to give it an additional dignity, the Council asked Miss Clough to move into the new Hall and take charge there. She agreed readily to this proposal, though at first she felt much regret at leaving her room with its west window and the associations which had gathered round the building in its twelve years of existence. The Vice-Principalship of the Hall which Miss Clough was leaving was accepted by Miss Jane Lee,[2] who held it till her death in 1895.

A question then arose as to the name to be given to the new Hall. The first two had been called the North and South Halls, and it was possible to describe this as West Hall, but this seemed an uninteresting plan to follow, and likely to lead to confusion. It was suggested by Mr. Prothero, who was then a member of the Council, that the Halls might, with great advantage, be

[1] The college has now, in 1897, succeeded in paying off a considerable part of this loan, but is not yet free from debt.

[2] Miss Lee entered Newnham as a student in 1882, and was shortly afterwards appointed Lecturer in Mediæval and Modern Languages. She had studied English and German literature and various mediæval languages both in Germany and at her home in Dublin for many years, and what she had written on these subjects was highly thought of by those competent to form an opinion. Her kindness and sympathy to the students of whom, as Vice-Principal, she had the charge, and the refinement of her character, won the affection and respect of the students, and made her a much valued member of the college staff. Her early death was felt as a great loss both to the college and to a large number of individuals.

named after some of those who had been most concerned in founding and developing the college. The Council accordingly decided to name the new Hall, Clough Hall, and the second Hall, where Professor and Mrs. Sidgwick had lived for two years, Sidgwick Hall. The first building, the original Newnham Hall, was called the Old Hall.

The new building was finished in the summer of 1888, and the formal opening in June was made the occasion of a great festival. The University that year granted Honorary Degrees to a very distinguished company, which included, among others, Prince Albert Victor, Lord Salisbury, Mr. Arthur Balfour, Lord Randolph Churchill, and Lord Acton; and the Prince and Princess of Wales came to Cambridge for the occasion. The Newnham function was fixed for the same day as the granting of degrees, and the Prince and Princess of Wales honoured the college with a visit. Many of the newly made LL.D.'s came also in their scarlet gowns, and a large number of visitors from Cambridge and elsewhere. This was an interesting event for a college which was still young, and had not forgotten its humble and tentative beginnings.

One incident of the day, which gave very great pleasure to Miss Clough, was the presentation to Miss Marion Kennedy of a sum of £2000, which was destined to form a studentship bearing her name. This sum had been subscribed by the many old students and friends of Miss Kennedy and of the college who knew of her many years' devoted work for Newnham and its students. The studentship is awarded every year to a student of the college who has completed her course there, and can give evidence that she is qualified to do "advanced independent work" in some department of learning. The first student

who held it was Miss Mary Bateson, the daughter of the early friends of the college, Dr. and Mrs. Bateson, and the second Marion Kennedy student was Miss Philippa Fawcett.

An invitation to this function was sent to all old students of the college, and a large number availed themselves of it. The new dining-hall was made use of without delay; nearly three hundred students, past and present, dined together there in the evening, while Professor and Mrs. Adams and Professor and Mrs. Cayley looked down upon the proceedings from the gallery.

It was characteristic of Newnham and of Miss Clough, that the large number of old students who came to luncheon before the proceedings of the day began, were all placed in groups carefully arranged beforehand, so that each might find herself among friends and contemporaries. It may be imagined that this plan involved much time and trouble, and much consideration and searching into records.

The Hall has proved an immense acquisition to the college. It was designed, like the rest of the buildings, by Mr. Champneys, and is a delightful room both to see and to use. The new block of buildings was connected with Sidgwick Hall by a passage, which was found to be a great advantage. The Old Hall was still separated from the others, and Miss Clough looked forward to the day when that too might be joined to Sidgwick Hall, and the whole college brought under one roof, but this was not accomplished till after her death. Miss Clough migrated to Clough Hall during the summer of 1888, and in spite of her tenderness for the Old Hall, soon came to have great pleasure and comfort in her new rooms and new Hall.

The educational work of the college went on steadily

The increase of numbers, the experience gained, and the fact that the work of the majority of the students was now less miscellaneous, and followed more regular and recognised lines, made it possible to organise the teaching more satisfactorily. It was easier now for those who wanted to come to Cambridge to obtain some preliminary training, and it was better understood what were the special advantages to be found at Cambridge. Consequently, the students came up better prepared, and with clearer ideas of what they wanted to do. Cambridge was no longer the only place where women could get teaching, and as their other opportunities increased in number, it became less necessary to make great efforts to receive everyone who wished to come. After 1878, Newnham found it possible to require applicants for admission to pass certain examinations, or to give other proofs of their intellectual qualifications, and it was no longer willing to receive students for periods of less than a year.

The proportion of students who studied with a view to the Tripos Examinations steadily increased. Out of 215 women who attended the lectures between 1870 and 1880, only 20 entered for these examinations. Of the number of students in residence at Newnham in 1881, half eventually entered for Triposes, and in 1885 the proportion had risen to four-fifths. Most of the remainder still worked for the Higher Local Examinations, but there were, and there still are, usually a few students who are working for no examination. It gradually came to be the practice to allow students who are not working for a Tripos to stay at college for two years only, and during this time they are not required to take any examination. They are allowed, however, to stay on

for a third and even a fourth year, if it is clear that their work is not less advanced than that which would be required of students of the same standing working for a Tripos. The college has always shown some tenderness towards students, such as these last, who are not doing elementary work, but wish to work on their own lines. The fact that, when once admission to the college has been granted, no other examination is insisted upon, has been an advantage in particular to many foreign students, and also to others who wished to do advanced work, and whose requirements would not have been met by the University courses.

In these later years, when the period of transition and experiment was over, the work of Newnham became much more like that of Girton. There were and are still some differences in the plans followed by the two colleges, but there are far more points of resemblance, and for a long time now they have worked side by side as allies in one undertaking, and each has contributed by its successes to the prosperity of the other.

The results of the students' work during the period of which I am speaking, as tested by the Tripos Examinations, must be considered very satisfactory. In the ten years following the formal opening of the examinations, Newnham presented 251 students for various Triposes; of these, 51 obtained first classes, 119 second classes, 78 third classes, 2 obtained the standard of the Ordinary Degree, 2 were allowed an Ægrotat, and 5 failed altogether. This amount of success showed at anyrate, that the women students were capable of profiting by the teaching offered to them.

In June 1887 a student of Girton College, Miss Agnata Ramsay (now Mrs. Montagu Butler), was placed

in the first division of the first class in the Classical Tripos Examination. No other candidates, men or women, attained this standard in that year, and Miss Ramsay was thus at the head of the Tripos. This success attracted considerable notice, and it seemed to those connected with Girton, and to many others interested in women's education, that the moment was a favourable one for petitioning the University to admit women to degrees. Accordingly, seven memorials expressing this desire were signed and presented early in the autumn.

The chances of a favourable answer to this appeal were much diminished by the fact that there were many members of the University who, though they were in favour of giving women a large share in the benefits of University education, and had supported the Graces passed in 1881, were opposed to their admission to degrees. Prominent among these was Mr. G. F. Browne (now Bishop of Bristol), who had been, and as long as he remained at Cambridge continued to be, a staunch supporter of the movement for the higher education for women, and as a leading academic Conservative had given aid of special value in 1881. Mr. Browne held that it would be detrimental to the interests of women to tie their education permanently to that of men, and that a separate University for women should be constituted. This view was set forth in memorials signed by a large number of members of the Senate. There were others, also, of whom Professor Sidgwick was one, who, while anxious that women should be admitted to degrees, were also anxious that the alternative preliminary examinations sanctioned by the Graces of 1881 should still be open to women, and that the Previous Examination, and consequently Latin and Greek, should

not be made compulsory for all candidates for the Tripos Examinations. Miss Clough shared this view, and signed one of two memorials in which it was expressed, but it was not acceptable to the other memorialists, who expressly desired that degrees should be granted to women on exactly the same terms as to men.

Other memorials, begging that no steps should be taken in the matter, were signed by 1041 members of the Senate, and the Council of the Senate decided that it was not desirable to make any proposal.

Through the whole of this period the women students continued to receive, and have ever since received, the greatest kindness and courtesy from the University. Both University officials and individual professors and lecturers were most kind in giving them the help and opportunities which they needed, and in giving advice and practical services to the college. After 1881 Newnham was no longer, as it were, the pet scheme of a band of members of the University, but acquired an established position of its own. There was some loss in this, though it was the result of success. But it has never ceased to receive what is indeed essential to its welfare, most generous and valuable help from many Cambridge men. It was not only in the early years that help was given in the form of gratuitous teaching. Among those who continued to help the college in this way for a great number of years, and in some cases up to the present time, I must mention Dr. Michael Foster, Mr. Archer-Hind, and Mr. Adam Sedgwick. It must also be remembered that it is not a slight sacrifice on the part of men whose time is already filled with University and college work to consent to join the Newnham Council and to sit upon its committees. I have

mentioned a few of those who made such sacrifices, but there were very many others, so many that it is not possible for me to name them here, but their names are fortunately preserved in the college records. One friend I must particularly mention,—Professor Hudson, who, though he left Cambridge for King's College, London, many years ago, has not only been a member of the Newnham Council since 1880, but has for the last twenty-two years undertaken annually the laborious task of auditing the college accounts.

The attitude towards Newnham, both of Cambridge and of the world outside Cambridge, had already in 1880 changed since the earlier years, and during the next ten years it altered still further in the same direction. Newnham was no longer a struggling experiment, but an established fact, and had a recognised position. This change of attitude was no doubt partly due to the altered view taken of women's education throughout the country.

The idea that some provision ought to be made for their education seems to have spread rapidly after 1870, and after 1880 it had apparently found general acceptance. Schools and colleges for girls sprang up all over the country, and one University after another recognised their claims. The University of London extended its privileges to women in 1878. Oxford opened certain of its Honours Examinations to women in 1884, and gradually admitted them to one after the other. The Royal Irish University, founded in 1879, the new Welsh University, the Victoria University, and the various University Colleges admitted women on equal terms with men. The Royal Commission appointed under the Scotch Universities Act of 1889, issued an ordinance in 1892 empowering the Scotch Universities

to admit women to their degrees and to provide teaching for them, and this has been done in different measure and different forms by Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews. Somerville College and Lady Margaret Hall were opened in Oxford in 1879, St. Hugh's in 1886, Westfield at Hampstead in 1882, Holloway in 1887, and between 1885 and 1892 halls of residence for women were opened at Cardiff, Bangor, and Aberystwith.

The action of Cambridge had, no doubt, done much to stimulate this activity. Cambridge had given women an opportunity, of which they had freely availed themselves, of showing that a great number of them were anxious for University education, and capable of receiving it. The widespread interest in women's education, of which this rapid progress gave evidence, gave new dignity to the position of the Cambridge women's colleges. They were no longer the practical expression of a fad, they were the pioneers in an important and successful movement, and were now its leading representatives. Those who had similar undertakings in view, or who, without having definite plans, desired to introduce improvements into women's education, looked to the experience of Girton and Newnham for guidance, and educational reformers, not only from different parts of the United Kingdom, but from many places abroad, came to inquire into their organisation and their methods of work.

When it was first proposed to open the college for women in Cambridge, Massachusetts, which is now known as Radcliffe College, the Miss Longfellows, who were much interested in the scheme, came for a year to be students at Newnham, in order to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the plans followed there. Another visitor was

Fräulein Hélène Lange, who is well known for her ability and energy in forwarding women's education in Germany, and who visited both Girton and Newnham at the request of the Empress Frederick. Miss Clough had a special interest in this movement in Germany, because Fräulein Alix von Cotta, who was one of her earlier students, had, in 1884, been appointed by the Empress Frederick to the post of Directress of the Victoria Lyceum. This institution, which was started as a private enterprise in 1868 by Miss Georgina Archer, under the protection of the Empress Frederick, to satisfy the desire for higher studies among women of the upper classes in Berlin, has now for many years been an important educational centre. Besides providing for women desiring higher education for its own sake alone, it has done much to improve the education, and consequently the position, of women teachers, and has obtained for them Government recognition. It is still the only institution in Germany which offers to women a course of study nearly parallel with those of the Universities. Miss von Cotta, under whom it has grown and developed steadily for the last twelve years, writes to me, that her aim has been to do her work in Miss Clough's spirit, and in the track marked out by her, "to whom," she says, "I owe whatever there may be good and successful in it."

The connection which grew up between the colleges and many of the girls' schools in different parts of the country gave the colleges greater influence and made them widely known. A large number of students became teachers, and after a time many schools began to recommend their most promising pupils to come to college, and to prepare them for a University course. The old

students who were teaching came back and talked of their work, and the head mistresses, whether they were old students or not, came to Cambridge to find teachers and to see their old pupils, and took the opportunity of discussing educational matters with the college authorities. The schoolmistresses thus became familiar with the requirements and the courses of study at the University, and heard the view taken there of the results of different plans of school education. The colleges, on the other hand, were sometimes able to modify their requirements in accordance with the experience of the schools, and they learned what the schools wanted of their teachers.

Miss Clough's influence did much to bring about and encourage intercourse with the schools. She was, as I have said, as much interested now as at any time in schools and their work, and was always eager to hear of plans and experiments and to help in any movement which the experience of the mistresses showed to be desirable; and in addition to those who were her old students, she had many personal friends among the mistresses who did not belong to Newnham.

There were other causes which contributed to raise Newnham in the estimation of the outside world. The improvement in its outward appearance had an undoubted influence, and the college owes much to the fine buildings which Mr. Champneys designed for it. When there was only one Hall, there was not much to impress visitors, especially as the first building turns its best side away from the public; but when the second Hall was built, the two together gave an impression of solidity and dignity, and when the long line of Clough Hall and the college dining-hall was added, the pile of buildings became

imposing. And then it began to be realised that Newnham was not merely a place in which those who were willing to sacrifice much for the love of learning could satisfy their cravings, but was also a place which gave scope for much enjoyment. Hundreds of students were, by this time, going about the world talking with enthusiasm of their friends, their games, and their societies, and it was impossible to keep up the idea that a college for women was much the same thing as a convent. And the opportunities for these pleasures increased as the college grew, and the buildings and grounds became more adequate to the needs of the community.

For many reasons, it is unlikely that Newnham will ever be much frequented by those who appreciate the pleasures of college life, but have no wish to study; but undoubtedly many students have come to college who, though they were anxious to study, would not have come if the life had been dreary and unattractive. It is partly because this is not the case, and life there is enjoyable as well as profitable, that the college has included among its students girls from a great variety of classes and of very different circumstances.

I have already sufficiently described Miss Clough's work at Newnham and the other interests and occupations of her life at this period, and it only remains for me to give a short account of her last years and of a few points which belong specially to them. The development and success of the college naturally brought changes to her personally. She gradually acquired the position of a recognised leader and guide in educational matters, and indeed in all questions concerning the work and careers of women, and was constantly consulted by those who had

new schemes in hand. The work of advising, criticising, and inspiring was particularly calculated to call out her powers and to bring into play her wisdom, her enterprise and invention, and her fine instincts; and it seemed as if in these later years, more than ever before, she had found her proper sphere.

Before Somerville College was opened in 1879, Miss Madeleine Shaw Lefevre, its first Principal, came to Cambridge to gather what she could from Miss Clough's experience. Miss Lefevre tells me that she was much struck, after she began her work, by the fact that various matters on which Miss Clough had laid stress, and which had not at the time seemed to her of special importance, were precisely those which came to the front in practice and called for particular attention. She was impressed, too, by Miss Clough's advice not to follow the example of Newnham in everything, since it was well to have a variety of plans, and to discover the advantages of each.

One undertaking in which Miss Clough was interested, and in which she took some part, was the Parents' National Educational Union. This organisation was started by Miss C. M. Mason about 1887, and Miss Mason has very kindly sent me some reminiscences of her intercourse with Miss Clough in connection with it. After working for some time on a small scale, Miss Mason determined in 1889 to extend the work of her Society, and with this view she communicated with various persons of influence in educational matters, and, among them, with Miss Clough. Miss Mason writes: "I attached very particular weight to Miss Clough's opinions, not only for the sagacity which everyone recognises as her gift, but because I knew a good deal of her work in Amble-

side. . . . I knew that she, almost alone, I thought, amongst educationalists, had very strong sympathy with parents. She united in a unique way the old and the new. She understood and believed in parents of the sort who educated their children quietly on the lines of Evenings at Home, etc. . . . Her respect for parents and her regard for their convenience and consideration for their wishes were very pronounced; and from her I felt I should obtain real and active sympathy in a movement intended to bring parents to the front as recognised educators of their children.

"Insistence upon local effort, small beginnings, quiet working, and steadfast effort, was the note of all Miss Clough's communications relative to the Parents' Union. It would be difficult to say how much her line of thought on the subject influenced me, and how much it fell in with my own, but it is quite certain that these are the lines upon which we still work. . . . Thus a vigorous and powerful Society has grown up, worked, however unintentionally, upon the very lines Miss Clough indicated. . . .

"Miss Clough early consented to be a member of the Council of the P. N. E. U., and she took the office seriously, going carefully into every question that was brought before her. My last recollection of her is connected with a meeting of the Council, held in the great Hall of the College of Preceptors. . . . This meeting of the Council was called for the final discussion of the principle and objects of the Parents' National Educational Union. Several leading educationalists were present. . . . The debate was long and earnest; Miss Clough took part in the discussion upon every clause, and the result of the meeting was the principles and objects of the P. N. E. U."

Another enterprise in which Miss Clough was interested was the National Home Reading Union, and she corresponded for a time with one of its chief promoters, Dr. Paton of Nottingham, as to various possible developments of the scheme.

Miss Clough's incessant activity had often caused her friends to be alarmed for her health, and about 1888 she began to show signs of failing strength. She had a very strong constitution, but the energy which she put out in so many directions must have been a strain on the strongest, and her anxious disposition made her work more trying. To the very end of her life her interest and energy were entirely unabated, and there was no sign of age in her mind, but she began to look much older, and was often excessively tired. The Council of the College was always anxious to relieve her of any part of her work which she would consent to leave to others. Since 1878 she had had the help of a secretary, and in 1889, in order to still further relieve her, the Council decided to appoint a Vice-Principal, who should reside with her in Clough Hall, and would be qualified to do any part of the work of superintendence which Miss Clough was inclined to give up. Miss Katherine Stephen, who had been secretary to Miss Gladstone since 1886, accepted this post, and came to Clough Hall in the beginning of 1890.

The number of Miss Clough's interests seemed to increase rather than diminish as she grew older, and these last years were as full of varied activity as any part of her life. She still travelled about a great deal, and attended meetings on educational questions and others, both in London and at Cambridge. In the summer of 1889, after a fatiguing term, she went to Liverpool and New Brighton

to give away prizes, and give addresses at several schools. She visited five or six schools, and did not content herself with seeing the children assembled, but went round the different classes. At one school she made a particular friendship with a little girl, who had written some verses to celebrate her visit, and corresponded with her afterwards; and at another she very strenuously urged the formation of a school library, and gave a subscription to start it. The girls wrote afterwards to let her know that this had been done, and to tell her what books were in the library.

This same summer she spent a most enjoyable month in Wales with her cousins, Mr. and Mrs. Williams Ellis, and their little boys (for whom she had a particular affection), and distinguished herself by her pleasure in long walks, and her success in surmounting stone walls. It was, however, in her holidays that it became most evident that her strength was failing, for, whereas at Cambridge she would read prayers every morning at eight o'clock, and hardly take half an hour's rest in the day, when there was no motive for such efforts, she was quite ready to fall into the ways of a delicate person, and to rest and spare herself as much as possible.

She had innumerable visitors at Cambridge during these years, and discussed all manner of questions with them. In 1890 and 1891 the University held a summer meeting of Extension Students at Cambridge. Twenty or thirty of the ladies who were attending the lectures were received at Newnham for three weeks, and Miss Clough was of course much interested in making acquaintance with them all.

She was fond of giving small parties for children, and of having one or other of the grandchildren of the college

to spend an afternoon with her, and there was a certain drawer in her room where elaborately-named dolls and minute tea-things were kept ready for use. Her variety of occupations sometimes produced amusing situations. I remember on one occasion one of the grandchildren, little Margery Ward, came to spend the afternoon, and an imaginary tea-party was going on when a Russian professor was announced. He had come to learn about the education of women in England, and Miss Clough retired to the other end of the room to give him the information he wished for. But the imaginary tea was by this time poured out, and Margery's politeness would not allow her to drink it alone. She took a cup to Miss Clough, who accepted it with due gravity, and she then tried to press one on the tall professor. He was much surprised and embarrassed at the interruption, and Miss Clough had to intervene and explain to Margery that this gentleman did not take tea.

A former student of Newnham, Miss A. C. Johnson, who is head of a Government Training College for coloured girls in Jamaica, was in England for a holiday in 1890, and Miss Clough was deeply interested in her account of her work. It was arranged between them that when Miss Johnson returned to Jamaica she should get some of her girls to write essays, and that Miss Clough should examine them, and give a prize for the best essay. The plan was carried out, and Miss Clough read the essays with much care and much entertainment, and after some consultation with others, the prizes were awarded. Miss Stephen, who examined the essays with her, remembers the very distinct views she had as to their comparative merits, and Miss Johnson said afterwards that Miss Clough had certainly picked out the cleverest girls.

She was always anxious to encourage her own students to learn how to express themselves, and was particularly concerned about the mathematical and science students, who, she thought, got no training of the kind. She once offered a prize to the students in her Hall who were working at these subjects for the best essay on a literary subject. The University has now made the writing of an essay a necessary part of the Previous Examination, and of most of the Triposes.

Though the arrangements made by the Council relieved Miss Clough of some of the routine work, and gave her plenty of helpers who could carry out her wishes, she took as much part as ever in the students' lives, and her interest in each individual and active kindness to everyone never grew less. She was the same wise and helpful friend to the students of 1891 that she had been to many earlier generations. One, at least, of the little instances of thoughtful kindness which I have given in an earlier chapter belongs to this time, and the following sentences occur in a letter from a student who was at college for the last two years of Miss Clough's life. She writes to me: "I can remember very few of her words, but I can never forget her beautiful face and her loving sympathy when in my first term, while I was still terribly shy in the midst of strangers, I lost my brother. I never saw a great deal of her, she knew practically nothing of my home circumstances, but I think that somehow she knew what was best in me. . . . Whenever there is any great change in my life, I think of her, and wish I could have her advice and her blessing on my new work. . . . I have never known anyone whose memory left such an impression of beauty and simplicity upon me. What could have been

simpler than the words in which she summed up the good of a three years' training at college: 'My dear, you will be able to amuse them better when you go home'; which is exactly what I had to try and do."

Now that the college contained one hundred and forty students, it was impossible for her to have an intimate knowledge of many outside her own Hall, but she tried to know something of most of them, and took advantage of any occasion when the whole college met together to become acquainted with students newly come, or to see more of those she already knew. She could not keep all their names and faces clear, but directly she was reminded of their names, she knew all about them. I remember on one occasion, when I was walking with her in the garden, we met one of the students whom she did not at once recognise. She asked me her name, and when I told her, she turned back without a moment's hesitation and asked the girl after her brother, who had been ill.

The feeling towards her of those who came into close contact with her was the same in character at all periods, but in her later years the attitude of the whole college was one of reverence. The new generations learnt something of this from those above them, and many students had heard of her from old students, or others who knew her, before they came, and it was generally known that the success of the college was largely owing to her. This feeling was strengthened by her appearance, and especially by her occasional addresses to the students, which revealed something of her character to them.

One student who was at college for the last two years of Miss Clough's life, but not in her Hall, writes to me: "I went up to college quite ignorant of the history of

Newnham, and I quite well remember a conversation at the end of my first term which gave me the first insight into the feeling of the students for the Principal, as not only Principal, but foundress and mother of the college.

"Of the discourses before Commemoration I remember especially one, in which she warned us against letting our independent life at Newnham unfit us for the necessary restraints of family life. I remember the simplicity and directness of her speaking, and I remember feeling myself constrained to return to a point of view which I thought I had outgrown.

"In my time the personal intercourse with the Principal was less than in the earlier days, but the feeling of reverence for her could never have been greater. It was, perhaps, intensified by her being a little lifted out of our own everyday life. We knew, of course, that the Principal took an individual interest in each one of us, and that though she used to forget our names, she really knew us all, but any special notice was a keener pleasure than it can have been in earlier days."

Another student of the latest days writes of one of her addresses that it made her "realise how strong was the current of life in her, and how we all had a share in it."

In these later years Miss Clough was more usually seen to advantage than at an earlier time. She was more habitually serene, and her success and the general respect shown to her gave her more confidence in herself, and therefore greater ease in social intercourse. She now talked readily, and had less hesitation than formerly in bringing out her ideas; her individuality was allowed free

expression, and constantly gave a charm to what she said and did.

The striking points in her appearance became more marked as she grew older, and there were many who, like a student whom I have quoted, would have described her face as beautiful. In 1882 the students had subscribed for a portrait of her by Mr. W. B. Richmond, and this portrait now hangs in the Library of the college. It is a fine picture, but it presents Miss Clough in a severe aspect which was not familiar to her friends. In 1890 another subscription was raised among students and friends, and a second portrait was painted by Mr. J. J. Shannon. Mr. Shannon had already painted Professor and Mrs. Sidgwick for the college, and a few years later he painted Miss Marion Kennedy, and the four portraits hang together in the college hall. Mr. Shannon's portrait of Miss Clough has given great satisfaction, and is a very pleasant representation of her; but to some of her friends it seems to be wanting in life and power, and to make her look unusually old and tired.

In 1890 Miss Philippa Fawcett came out above the Senior Wrangler in the Mathematical Tripos. This was a great triumph for the college, and a great pleasure to Miss Clough. The college celebrated Miss Fawcett's success by an impromptu feast, at which Mrs. Fawcett and other friends and benefactors were present. Miss Clough proposed Miss Fawcett's health, and in the course of her little speech she said to the students, "I hope, my dears, it will be a lesson to you all to go to bed early." It was suggested that Miss Fawcett would not do equally well in the work required for the second part of the Tripos, which is commonly only taken by the best mathematicians of the

previous year, and for which more originality is required. However, in 1891, Miss Fawcett came out in the first division of the first class.[1]

Miss Clough finished her summer holiday of 1890 by an expedition to Holland, in which Miss Bonham Carter, Miss Fawcett, and I accompanied her. Her enjoyment of this three weeks' trip was delightful to see. She was infinitely entertained with the new places, new people, and new ways of life, and charmed with the picture-galleries, the canals, and the picturesque buildings. The only drawback was that, as she did not know Dutch, she could not talk to all the people she met in shops, and steamboats, and railway carriages. She came home much refreshed, in spite of the fatigue of travelling, and with her mind full to overflowing with all she had seen.

The following summer she went to Ireland to be present at the Commemoration at Alexandra College, Dublin, of which her old student, Miss H. M. White, was Principal. She spent some weeks in Ireland, paying visits, and then went to Ambleside. She had set her mind for some time on going there this year, evidently feeling that it was for the last time. She was able to see a great deal of her old friend, Miss Claude, and she made a great point of seeing all her old Ambleside friends. She attended the Rush-bearing, which is an annual festival at Ambleside, with two of her old friends who still lived near her old house on Eller Rigg, and insisted on speaking to all her old pupils, and to everyone she had known.

Soon after she got back to Cambridge she wrote as

[1] In this examination the candidates take different subjects, and are therefore not placed in order, but only in classes and divisions of classes, so that a first division of the first class is the highest place attainable.

follows to her old friend, Mrs. Bacot, the Maria Lance of her Charleston days:—

"I was very pleased to get your letter and reminder of old times. My life is so full that I have to neglect some of my correspondence. My family increases so very fast, and brings me every year new young people to think of and plan for. But still I recall my old friends and past days, when we used to talk together of our future, and make many plans, in the sunny, bright days of our youth at Charleston, when our mothers were with us. I rejoice that you have an affectionate daughter to watch over you and work for you. I have a niece who is very devoted, and a young lecturer of the college, Edith Sharpley, who is a daughter to me. I am getting old, as you know, for are we not both the same age? Still, I get about among my students and manage to see a good deal of them. They are scattered all over the world, some in America, some in India, Japan, South Africa, Australia, and letters come from these distant parts telling of their doings. Some are settled near me, married, and with children. So it seems as if the dreams of my youth were realised, and I feel as if the end were not far off, but I am glad to linger on and watch over my girls and my work a little longer."

In the Michaelmas term of 1891 she was for some weeks very unwell, and obliged to keep in her room and on her sofa, and though she got better, she did not recover much strength, but she was full of interests and was much occupied with various matters.

The Government of New South Wales had shortly before decided to open a hostel for women students, in connection with the University of Sydney. A lady principal for this hostel was to be selected in England, and a num-

ber of ladies with experience in educational matters were asked to join a Committee which was to help the Agent-General, Sir Saul Samuel, in choosing the best candidate. Miss Clough was one of this Committee, and among the other members were Miss Welsh, the Mistress of Girton; Miss Maitland, Principal of Somerville Hall; Miss Wordsworth, Principal of Lady Margaret; and Miss Shaw Lefevre. Miss Clough attended several meetings of this Committee in London, and held many private consultations, and studied the testimonials of the candidates with the greatest care. Finally, she assisted in electing Miss Macdonald to the post—a choice which has been fully justified by Miss Macdonald's success. One of the ladies of this Committee almost refused to believe that Miss Clough was failing in health, because she had shown so much vigour and acuteness in questioning the candidates.

She was also deeply interested in a plan for starting a school for girls in Siam. Mr. Morant, who was at that time one of the advisers of the King of Siam, was just then in England looking for teachers, both for a girls' school and a boys' school to be opened in Bangkok, and Miss Clough saw and talked with him about the matter. The two schools were a Government undertaking, and were intended for the highest class of the Siamese. There was one of Miss Clough's old students, Miss Blanche Smith, who had always shared her taste for adventure and her interest in new places and people. Miss Smith had travelled in California and Hawaii, and Miss Clough had followed her adventures with delight. She now suggested to Miss Smith to offer herself as a candidate for the post of head mistress of the proposed girls' school in Siam, and after some consideration Miss Smith did so, and was accepted.

While the matter was still in doubt, Miss Clough wrote to her as follows: "My dearest Blanche, I want to know if you feel to have courage to go to Siam. Don't do it if you think you are afraid. You will have to make up your mind to go through with it if you accept, and it really seems to me a noble and important work, and one you will rejoice to have done."

Two other ladies were to go with her, and Miss Clough exerted herself to hear of suitable candidates, and wrote various letters on the subject.

Miss Smith went out to Bangkok some months after Miss Clough's death, and succeeded in creating a school where the Siamese girls receive an education well calculated to develop them both in character and in mind. By means of her ability, her zeal, and her tact, she carried on a difficult undertaking for more than three years, and finally established it on a comparatively firm basis, and left it in the hands of a competent successor.

It was in this autumn term of 1891 that at Miss Clough's instigation the students first began to play hockey. A match was arranged with the girls of Miss Lawrence's school at Brighton.[1] Miss Clough was much interested in this match, and although she was not allowed to leave her room on the day when it was played, she sent roses to the Brighton girls, and insisted on speaking to them at her window.

One event occurred this year which was of great importance to the college, and gave great pleasure to Miss Clough. When the second Hall, now called Sidgwick Hall, was built, the only available site near the first

[1] This school has a certain connection with Newnham, from the fact of two of the Miss Lawrences being old students of the college.

building was on the other side of a public footpath. Clough Hall was built on the same side of the path as Sidgwick Hall, and thus the Old Hall was separated from the other buildings, and the garden was cut in two. This naturally caused great inconvenience, and negotiations had long been going on, with a view to obtaining permission to close the footpath and replace it by a road on the outside boundary of the Newnham grounds, which, owing to the growth of Cambridge in this direction, was much wanted. Naturally these negotiations were difficult and long drawn out, and it was not till 1891, after they had been carried on for at least three years, that the permission was obtained. Miss Clough did not live to see this decision acted upon, but she had the great satisfaction of knowing that it had been arrived at, and that it would now be possible to unite the whole college under one roof, and to get rid of all the disadvantages caused by the then existing state of things. The results of the change have been really of incalculable value to the college, and for this, as for so many other things, it has to thank Professor and Mrs. Sidgwick. Not only did Professor and Mrs. Sidgwick, in company with Mr. R. T. Wright, spend much time and trouble on the prolonged negotiations, but it was their generosity in undertaking to pay the cost of making the road, and of the very considerable compensation required by the various owners of the land through which the road must necessarily pass, which made a successful issue possible, and brought about what has benefited not only the college, but, it may be added, the public also.

When the Christmas vacation came, Miss Clough consented to give up her usual little gathering, and to go

first to London, and then for a fortnight to Hastings with Mrs. Arthur Clough. She evidently felt very weak at this time, but she would go on working till the end of the term. I was present once when she received a letter from a friend urging her to take care of herself. She looked up with her eyes flashing, and said almost fiercely, "Why, one may as well go on working as long as one can."

She was particularly serene and gentle during her visit to Hastings, and enjoyed her little walks and the sights of the place. She had one of her old students—Miss Dora Pease—with her, as well as Mrs. Clough, for a week, and she enjoyed seeing Miss Finlay, another old student, who lived there. She went back to Cambridge a few days after the term began, and for a week or two she consented to keep very quiet and do little work. She saw a good deal of the students, and had some of them often in her room. Mr. Morant came to see her about the Siamese school, and she arranged for him to address some of the students on the subject. Mrs. Clough wrote to beg her to come to London and be taken care of; but she said to me, "I don't want to go away, I'm very well amused here." On January 21st she heard with great sorrow of the death of her friend Professor Adams, and she attended the funeral service held in Pembroke Chapel on the 26th.

On the 3rd of February she presided at a Committee at which it was decided to recommend the Council, now that permission to close the footpath had been obtained, to build an entrance gateway to the college, with rooms over it and on each side It was to be connected with the Old Hall on one side and Sidgwick Hall

on the other, and thus to unite the whole college in one building.[1]

Late in the evening of the 5th she had a severe attack of breathlessness, and the doctor was sent for. Her old friend Dr. Latham was out of Cambridge at the time, but Mr. Wherry kindly came and spent the night at the college, and was able to relieve her. Dr. Latham came next morning and examined her, and said that her heart was in a very dangerous condition. At first, however, she seemed to revive, and for the first ten days grew gradually a little stronger.

Her bedroom was small, and her bed was left where it had been placed the first night in her large airy sitting-room. She had a nice nurse, and was allowed to see a friend occasionally, and one of her lecturers—Miss Sharpley—and I were constantly with her. Mrs. Clough came down for a few days, and Miss Clough enjoyed seeing her very much. She suffered from weakness and weariness, but had no pain, and was always calm and cheerful. She sent messages to different students, and heard what was going on, and was still full of suggestions and thought for one person and another. She enjoyed having the flowers about her which her friends sent, and having books read to her. She was interested in Norman's *Real Japan*, and in various stories which we read.

She got so far better that one day she was able to get up and walk into the next room, but after that the cold weather, to which she was always sensitive, seemed to affect her, and she grew gradually weaker. She knew that

[1] In this gateway there have since been placed some beautiful bronze gates, designed by Mr. Champneys, and presented to the college by old students in memory of Miss Clough.

she was very ill, but said little about it, and was, I think, perfectly contented. Once, after an attack of breathlessness and great exhaustion, she looked at me very intently and said, "It doesn't matter," and I thought at the time that she was not speaking of the moment only, but of the fact that she was not likely to recover.

In the evening of the 26th of February she was very much exhausted, and said, "I shall not survive the night; give my love to the students." She grew weaker through the night, and, in answer to some remark from the nurse, she said, "It can't matter now." The nurse asked her to be very still, and she said, with the most childlike simplicity, "I *will* try." She lay with her face towards the window, and as the grey light came in, she said first something about its being "good weather for building the wall" along the new road, and then something about "a bird or two." Gradually her breath came more slowly, and she died quite quietly, looking out at the light.

In some written instructions to her executors, she had expressed a wish to be buried in a churchyard, and not in one of the cemeteries. Fortunately, she possessed two cottages, just outside the bounds of Cambridge, and these gave the right of burial in the village churchyard of Grantchester. She had built these cottages with money left her by Miss Crofton, the old friend for whom she had cared so long, and had called them after her, Crofton Cottages.

The Provost and Fellows of King's College most kindly offered the use of their chapel for the first part of the service, and this was very gratefully accepted. An invitation to the funeral was sent to all old students, and it was arranged that it should take place on Saturday, in order to enable those who were teaching in schools to be

present. Between two and three hundred came from many different parts of the country. In her instructions she had written: "It would be a grievous thing if anyone were to get ill at my funeral"; and several friends stayed away in deference to this expression of her wishes.

Besides Miss Clough's family, and the members of the Council, the staff, and students of Newnham College, there were present in the chapel the staff and many students of Girton College, the representatives of various women's colleges and educational bodies, and a very large number of members of the University and residents in Cambridge.

The service was performed by her cousin, Mr. Williams Ellis, and her friend and fellow-worker for many years, the present Bishop of Bristol.

She was buried in the village churchyard at Grantchester, a mile or two from her college.

I should like, in concluding this account of Miss Clough's life, to recall some words of her own, written when she was twenty-one.

In her Diary for 1841 she wrote: "I care not for honour or praise if I could only really do something to benefit my fellow-creatures. If I were a man, I would not work for riches or to leave a wealthy family behind me; I would work for my country, and make its people my heirs."

Side by side with this passage, I wish to place the not less characteristic words of counsel which occur in her last address to the students leaving college.

"One word more. Take the little pleasures of life, watch the sunsets and the clouds, the shadows in the

streets and the misty light over our great cities. These bring joy by the way and thankfulness to our Heavenly Father."

These two passages bring out vividly, it seems to me, the spirit which inspired her life of strenuous endeavour, and the trustful serenity and power of enjoyment which made her life one of happiness to herself and a source of happiness to others.

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